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ABSTRACT

This report describes the outcomes of research that investigated school reform, school-linked services, parent involvement, and community school programs in schools in 36 states. Results found that services were often added on to school sites without any intent to integrate them with school reform; teachers were not directly involved in services; co-locating service providers did not guarantee better quality of services; and technical assistance, capacity-building, and time for teachers were in short-supply. A model comprised of 10 strategies, "The Family-Supportive Community School," is presented to enhance learning experiences for all students, including students with disabilities. The strategies include: (1) parent empowerment and family support; (2) paraprofessional jobs and career ladders for parents; (3) school readiness, parent education, and family support; (4) caring classrooms that improve children's learning while enhancing teachers' and parents' efficacy; (5) improved classroom supports for teachers and children; (6) collaborative leadership; (7) educational communities; (8) neighborhood development and community organization; (9) simultaneous renewal of higher education; and (10) technology enhancement and use. Appendices include family support premises and principles of family-centered practice, and examples of knowledge needs and orientations of teachers, principals, service providers and parents in three kinds of schools. (Contains approximately 200 references.) (CR)

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CONNECTING THE DOTS:

Progress Toward the Integration of School Reform, School-Linked Services, Parent Involvement and Community Schools

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How do we respond to the needs of the growing number of vulnerable children, youth and families who are challenged by poverty? How can we unite and integrate two important national reform movements—school reform; systems reform for child and family services? These twin questions have framed our work.

We started with a specific question: How are school reform and school-linked services being integrated? We found that most sites had not integrated them or two other initiatives: Parent involvement and community schooling. For example, services are often added on to school sites without any intent to integrate them with school reform. This add-on pattern helped us understand what we were seeing and hearing. If services are merely added on, minimal academic achievement gains are understandable because:

- "Real school" does not change, in part because teachers are not directly and intimately involved in services and in part because teaching-learning strategies are unconnected to service and support strategies
- Co-locating service providers does not guarantee better quality of the services
- Many children and families need tailored social supports and economic resources, not additional services that professionals are trained to provide
- Technical assistance, capacity-building, and time for teachers are in short-supply.

Where schools are concerned, we began to understand needs to talk about and plan for educational reform, not just school reform. We learned from Howard Adelman and Linda Taylor about their approach to educational reform. They call their model "The Enabling Component." We briefly describe this model and its benefits.

We offer a complementary, but different model that we call The Family-Supportive Community School. It is comprised of these ten strategies:

1) *Parent empowerment and family support.* Parents, educators and service providers will become collaborative designers of children's learning, health and development; and professionals as well as community leaders will develop family-supportive networks.
2) *Paraprofessional jobs and career ladders for parents.* Previously unemployed and volunteer parents will be provided job-related supports and career-ladder opportunities in schools and social and health service agencies.
3) *School readiness, parent education and family support.* Pre-natal and early childhood education programs will be redesigned so that they also educate parents and support families.
4) *Caring classrooms that improve children's learning while enhancing teachers' and parents' efficacy.* Classroom and school cultures will advance norms of caring, high expectations as well as standards, and success for all. Culturally-responsive teaching-learning strategies facilitate children's learning, enhance teachers' working conditions and improve supports for parents' learning and healthy development. Social trust networks among children, educators, parents, community leaders and service providers are promoted with each new achievement.
5) *Improved classroom supports and resources for teachers and children.* Parents and other helpers such as university students, elders, business representatives, and community leaders will enter into classrooms to work in partnership with teachers. Teachers and their classroom helpers will identify children's risk factors and learning barriers, enabling children and their families to receive tailored services, supports and resources.
6) *Collaborative leadership.* Principals and superintendents will receive new preparation for different roles and responsibilities, enabling teachers, other educators, parents, service providers and children to share leadership opportunities and decision-making power.
7) *Educational communities.* Enriched opportunities for learning, healthy development and well-being will be provided for children and youth during the non-school hours by mentors in neighborhood organiza-

tions, religious organizations, community agencies, businesses, and voluntary associations such as boys and girls clubs, music groups, computer networks, and sport-exercise groups. Connections will be made between school learning, community schooling, and learning that occurs in educational communities outside the school.

8) *Neighborhood development and community organization*. Families will be supported and strengthened by educational, health, recreational, and occupational-economic experiences offered in community school programs. Neighborhood-communities will become safer and stronger as parents are employed and families are supported.

9) *Simultaneous renewal of higher education*. Professional development initiatives will prepare university faculty, school leaders, and helping professionals for collaborative teaching, research and service responsibilities. University students have more powerful learning experiences in school-family-community-university partnership settings.

10) *Technology enhancement and use*. Cable television and computer networking for teaching and learning in schools will be linked to homes, neighborhoods, higher education institutions, businesses and community agencies. These enhanced networks will double as family support and community development facilitators.

This model also includes two sets of indices that facilitate planning and evaluation: (1) Indices of integration; and (2) indices for the quality of treatment and interaction. This model is based upon a systems design. Ideally, it will not add to the fragmentation problem; it should help integrate, strengthen, and extend good work already underway.

During our site visits and interviews, we observed encouraging progress indicators. For example, we found stakeholders who have:

- Identified shared, measurable goals
- Agreed to share responsibility and accountability for the progress they make in relation to these goals
- Agreed to chart progress and results
- Agreed to make ongoing adjustments in their work based on progress charting especially feedback they solicit and receive from children, youth, and families
- Agreed to share all relevant human and economic resources
- Effected permanent policy changes that support new work practices and working relationships.

These are important guideposts. When all are in evidence, integration is occurring and results are most likely to improve. Our work is intended to foster this understanding and help others build upon their achievements. We want to help others "connect the dots," benefiting vulnerable children, youth and families and the professionals who serve them.

INTRODUCTION

Everyone knows that children's learning is not confined to schools. We all know that parents are the first and most important teachers and social and health providers for their children, and that the surest guarantee for a strong, healthy child is a strong, healthy family. Everybody knows children's learning and development outside of school influences their success in school and that, conversely, their school experiences influence their activities and feelings in nonschool hours.

Because everybody knows these things, it is unfortunate that we equate education with schooling. It also is unfortunate that when we focus on children, we often blame their parents and ignore the family as partners in the learning process.

While we give schools total responsibility for children's education, we make their health the responsibility of specific agencies and professions; their social service needs belong to still others. When we partition and fragment these interdependent aspects of children's well-being, we are not likely to achieve our goals for their learning and healthy development. All children, but especially poor children, pay the price. So do their parents and families. In turn, the fabric of local neighborhood-communities is weakened.

What would be different if we integrated our planning for children's schooling, education and overall healthy development? An increasing number of child and family advocates are asking this question and others that stem from it. In a growing number of cities, suburbs and rural areas, a new conception is developing of the school community. These school communities comprise all of the stakeholders in a local school, feeder pattern of schools or school district. A new, expanded conception of school leadership includes parents, community leaders, social and health service professionals, policy advocates, governmental officials and university faculty, as well as teachers, principals, superintendents and student support professionals. These diverse individuals are joined together by their shared commitment to improving the learning, healthy development and well-being of children, youth and families. They know these improvements are most likely to occur when all of the professionals and community leaders who touch the lives of these families are working toward the same goals and sharing the same assumptions and principles. They emphasize school improvement, but know that they must also become engaged in educational reform, family support, and community development.

Because no one profession or organization can do this work alone, diverse stakeholders are ending their fragmentation and competition by forming new partnerships. These innovative school-family-community partnerships encompass a wide variety of change initiatives in their efforts to improve our children's public education, health and social welfare. What are their successes? What are the obstacles they face? These questions introduce the related issues we address in this monograph.

Children In Crisis, Schools In Crisis

Between 14 and 15 million of our children are growing up in what Garbarino (1995) calls "a socially toxic environment" (Sherman, 1994; Lawson, Briar-Lawson, and Lawson, 1997). The lives of these children and their families are ravaged by poverty, racism and violence. Increasing numbers of children manifest trauma syndromes symptomatic of living in war zones (Garbarino, 1995; Earls, 1994; Kotlowitz, 1991; Kozol, 1995; Monti, 1994).

As a result, a growing number of children and youth in the nation's schools face challenges and manifest needs and problems.[1] Many young people come to school hungry, sleepy, distressed, depressed, apathetic, abused, hyperactive, medicated or angry. Older students may be involved with alcohol, drugs and tobacco. An increasing number join gangs.

There is little relief in sight. For example, the US. Department of Education estimates that 43 percent of all children are born with at least one learning or developmental barrier (US. Department of Education, 1993). By the time these children enter school, the chances are that more than one barrier will be evident. Unless meaningful employment and family support initiatives accompany welfare reform, the condition of a growing segment of the nation's children will get worse. Educators and social and health service providers serving high poverty communities can ill afford to ignore the welfare reform crisis.

Although family poverty and parental unemployment are two predictors of many of these problems, more and more children and youth from families who are not poor are also affected. While the effects of socially and physically toxic environments are most visible among urban children, it is easy to find children with comparable challenges, needs and problems in suburban and rural schools.

The severity and complexity of students' challenges, needs and problems vary, but the consequences are usually the same. These children do not reach their potential in school, and they often complicate teachers' and principals' jobs. Vulnerable children and youth disrupt classrooms, interfering with others' learning. Labeled as "at risk" and "problem students," they are often assigned to special teachers and classes. Too many are repeatedly truant and suspended. Many are later expelled or drop out. School failure is associated with teen pregnancy, violent behavior, crime, substance abuse and adult unemployment.

When children and their families confront crises, so do the schools that serve them. Our schools were designed to help children learn, not to substitute for a healthy family and a supportive neighborhood-community. Schools cannot substitute for an appropriate childhood. Educators are unprepared for the challenges these children bring into classrooms.

Outside the schoolhouse doors, social and health service professionals are also experiencing crises. Like educators, these service providers are unprepared for the unprecedented challenges confronting children and their families. There are not enough providers. They carry excessive case loads and face impossible working conditions. They often are called to the scene too late to help. Their systems are crisis-oriented, and most providers lack the resources they need to respond effectively. Most have not been prepared to work closely with educators. Nevertheless, service providers want to prevent problems; they talk about "systems change" and strategies for early intervention and prevention.

People experiencing crises often blame others. We can see blame cycles in many school communities. Parents, children, educators and service providers often blame, and sometimes maltreat, each other. Children are caught in the middle. Why would vulnerable people seek help from schools and social service agencies when they experience maltreatment? How can children and their parents bond with educators and schools under these conditions? Absent such bonding, what is the likelihood of mutual success?

From School Reform to Educational Reform

How do we break such destructive cycles? The pivotal question, we think, is this one: What will it take to improve children's learning and healthy development? This question requires us to start with the school, but also to include in our thinking and planning the family and the community.

Among reform-minded educators, there is a growing recognition that school reform, while essential, is just one component in an effective strategy for change. Systems thinking, social- ecological perspectives, developmental-contextual analyses and daily experiences with children are helping a growing number of educators understand that children's academic achievement and overall success at school cannot be divorced from the rest of their lives. In other words, children's learning and performance in schools hinges upon their health, development and well-being, which, in turn, hinges on the well-being of their families and communities (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995; Lerner, 1995). Schools cannot be all things to all people, nor can schools remain as stand-alone institutions in which educators are asked to do it all, alone.

We must continue to talk about school reform. But if we are serious about improving children's outcomes, we are in fact facing the challenges of what we call educational reform. Educational reform includes a broader definition of school leadership, more comprehensive views and prioritization of results, and an expanded perspective on needed change strategies.

Most schools begin the change process with some kind of school reform initiative. When school reform alone does not yield desired results for children or educators, other change initiatives follow, typically within the span of a few years. School-linked services, parent involvement, and community schools are three of these initiatives.

These initiatives entail new relationships among schools, families, community agencies, government, universities and the private sector. Educators are inviting other key stakeholders in their local neighborhood communities to share responsibilities for planning and decision-making. The notion of school leadership is redefined to include not just educators, but parents, community advocates and other key stakeholders. Parents and community leaders are among the most important of these new stakeholders. They are joined by university professors, social and health service providers, policy leaders, and business and corporate representatives. In short, *the school community*, not just the school, is becoming the key unit of analysis for planning.

At the same time, in a growing number of places, the focus for planning has broadened. Planning has expanded to include the entire feeder pattern of pre-schools, elementary schools, middle schools, secondary schools. In cities such as Los Angeles and Philadelphia, these identifiable clusters of schools are called "families of schools" because they serve the same children, youth and families and operate in the same neighborhood-communities. In some places, this comprehensive planning includes school-to-work programs and articulations with community colleges, four-year colleges and universities.

Background: A Brief History of Our Work on School-Family-Community Partnerships

These new school-family-community relationships have been the centerpiece of our work with the Danforth Foundation. Since 1992, we have completed site visits and interviews in 36 states. Although we visited high schools, the majority of our visits were to middle and elementary schools. We also have visited innovative community and neighborhood-based collaborations, some of which focus on child welfare and family support more than school improvement.

Some of the sites were involved in university-based partnerships.

We observed life in classrooms and social service facilities. We sat in on case staffing meetings. We gained some sense of the daily routines and challenges in each place.[2] During site visits and participation at local, regional and national conferences, we interviewed superintendents, principals, teachers, social workers, family advocates, substance abuse counselors, school psychologists, school counselors, juvenile justice specialists, and other professionals working at, or with, schools, children and youth, parents and community leaders. We also interviewed parents and children.

Not content with the role of tourists, we have been immersed in local school-family-community partnerships and change initiatives in three states: Washington, Ohio and Florida. These direct experiences have provided important insights. We have always viewed ourselves as learners seeking clarity, as joint inventors of new strategies.

In the initial phase of our work with school-family-community partnerships (1992-94), we explored the origins and development of school-linked services. We were especially interested in new roles and responsibilities for parents and the extent to which schools were becoming family-friendly and -supportive. Our values were clear: We believed that school reform, school-linked services, and what we then called "parent involvement and family-support" could be connected. We hoped to build upon promising research findings.

We knew that all such changes required new professional development opportunities for educators, service providers and parents. Consequently, we also explored changes in pre-service and professional development programs in colleges and universities. Much to our dismay, during our site visits in 1993 and 1994, we found that many professors and academic administrators were unaware of innovative school-family-community partnerships in their own communities. Fortunately, in the short span of three years, this situation has changed.

Three years ago, we authored two monographs, each tailored to a special audience. The first, *Serving Children, Youth and Families through Interprofessional Collaboration and Service Integration: A Framework for Action*, addressed school-family-community partnerships (Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994), while the other analyzed important responsibilities of colleges and universities (Lawson and Hooper-Briar, 1994). Then, as now, we saw relationships between the two based on the need for simultaneous reforms.

In this present monograph, we build upon the conceptual frameworks in those earlier pieces, especially the first half of *Serving Children, Youth and Families*... Readers familiar with that monograph know that the second part, which addressed the relationship between school reform and school-linked services, was sketchy. At that time, we could only provide a preliminary overview. In this monograph, we return to many of the same questions. Today we are also asking some different questions. Because the questions asked structure people's learning and determine the available solutions, we offer these new questions as a product of our work. One measure of our learning is the language we now use. For reasons that will become apparent, we focus less today on buzzwords like interprofessional collaboration and service integration. As important as these concepts have been in stimulating new thinking and working relationships, by themselves they will not yield the results that professionals, parents, children and youth, governmental officials, and community leaders prioritize.

We began this second phase of our work (1994-96), with the goal of mapping the conceptual relationships between two change initiatives: school reform and school-linked services. As our work evolved, we added two other change initiatives: parent involvement and community school programs. We faced the challenges of integrating four change initiatives instead of two. We quickly learned that people using the same language had different things in mind; in other instances, different words nevertheless conveyed identical meanings. As a result, our work became more complicated.

Are these four change initiatives integrated? We visited school communities and interviewed people with the intent of finding and understanding examples of integration. Although we heard the language of integrated services, in most places we did not find what we were looking for—namely, the pervasive integration of the four change initiatives. In fact, there was little agreement on the essential elements of "integrated services." We began to ask questions like these. How would you know integrated services if you saw them? Who decides? Who delivers? Who evaluates? Are flexible economic resources, employment opportunities, and mutual assistance-social support networks for families included in integrated services? Variability in thought, language and practices became all the more evident as we asked these questions and others.

While we learned a great deal from the people we interviewed in the course of our visits, their ambivalence, uncertainties and conflicts left a lasting impression on us. Although most people know that crises involving children and their schools, families and communities are not separate, they are unsure how to define problems that nest in each other. Many know that business-as-usual today means results-as-usual tomorrow. Beyond this recognition, they are unclear about essential strategies for problem-setting and effective problem solving. Little wonder: The vast majority of the professionals we interviewed have been prepared to look at their jobs through a specialized, narrow lens provided by their respective professional identities and responsibilities. Few have received education and training that prepares them to understand and develop their connections with other professionals, families and community leaders.

In the school communities we visited, our questions were turned back on us. Pioneering school community leaders asked us whether these change initiatives might be integrated and, if so, how. These leaders are struggling to respond to the crises we have identified, and they are weighed down by the demands of so many disparate change initiatives. This issue was especially evident in Title 1 school communities.

We realized if we wanted examples of integration, we needed to build them from our observations. So, in this monograph we have made the so-called normative leap: based on our findings, practice, experiences and achievements, we have charted future directions. In other words, the achievements we observed were like pieces in a puzzle; our job was to construct a picture of the puzzle for the top of the box.

From Observations to Models for the Future: How We Structured This Monograph

This monograph is both descriptive and prescriptive. It responds to requests we received from leaders in school communities we visited. They told us they need explanations, analyses and complex, integrated change strategies that conventional scientific studies have not yet provided.

We start with basic building blocks: definitions and some discussion of the four change initiatives. We cast these discussions (and, in fact, the entire monograph) within two different frames of reference, one associated with school reform and the other with the more comprehensive process of educational reform. We use the term educational reform to refer to efforts to integrate school reform with parent involvement, school-linked services and community schools. We link these efforts to family support and community development; and, in turn, to civil society and democratic institutions.

Each reference frame has its own sensitizing and planning concepts, including a problem-solving strategy, a conception of leadership and the measurable results that leaders have prioritized. When these two frames of reference serve as the examining lenses, it is easier to detect and understand differences and similarities in language, meaning, and practices. For example, parent involvement has one set of meanings and goals in school reform: all activities serve educators and the school. By contrast, when the frame of reference is educational reform, goals are more reciprocal and cohesive, and the interests, needs, and aspirations of children, parents and families are as important as those of educators and the school.

After discussing the change initiatives, we report back on our observations in the field. We have structured this section of the monograph around some of the key questions we asked during site visits and interviews. Our plan is help others experience our journeys, to appreciate how and why our questions changed as our understanding developed.

Then we offer five models we have developed to describe the kinds of changes we have seen and those we envision. Key differences among these models stem from different views of children, parents and families, and different plans for changing classroom practices and school cultures. For example, we characterize many initiatives as co-location experiments in which service providers and community leaders are moved from community agencies onto school sites. Co-location alone will not, in our view, yield the needed improvements for children, youth, families and educators. We find it difficult to imagine that the same services or programs that were not effective in the neighborhoods and community agencies will be more effective when they are delivered at the school.

We believe that everyone in the school community will benefit from the integration of school reform, school-linked services, parent involvement and community schools. Two of our four models are designed to accomplish this: the Enabling Component, developed by Howard Adelman and Linda Taylor, and the Family-Supportive Community School, which we describe here for the first time. We concentrate on the Family-Supportive Community School, especially the action strategies associated with it.

Throughout, we try to point to future directions, that is, to strategies for integrating school reform, school-linked services, parent involvement and community schools. We identify key lessons learned, emphasize major challenges and likely barriers, and suggest criteria to facilitate planning and evaluation.

Building Blocks for Integration

Readers experienced with collaborative practices and organizational partnerships will not be surprised by the high priority we assign to the fundamental building blocks for integration. These include:

- shared goals
- appropriate language
- high expectations and standards
- nurturing attitudes and norms
- ways to enfranchise children, youth and their parents in important decisions and roles that affect their present and future lives, facilitating shared responsibility for results
- respectful, caring interactions among professionals and the people they serve
- indices of integration and progress.

Race, ethnicity and social class matter. We have learned that these fundamental building blocks are not likely to be present if the majority of the professionals and their work organizations lack cultural competence and evidence culturally-responsive practices. The presence or absence of these fundamental building blocks will determine whether elaborate structures for integrated change will, in fact, help children, youth, parents, families and professionals.

Place and local contexts also matter. One size fits all thinking and blind borrowing from other sites are likely to cause as many problems as they solve.

We have learned that the words people use reveal much about their preferred solutions. For example, many professionals talk about "at risk" children and youth. At-risk language is usually accompanied by early identification and targeting strategies aimed at a special population. Other professionals use labels such as "vulnerable children, youth and families"; they seek to help individuals and, at the same time, direct their attention to environmental improvements and family supports. A small but perhaps a growing number of professionals use "gifted" or "at promise"; they use build-from-strength strategies, often starting with the aspirations, hopes and dreams of children, youth and parents. Educators and social service providers alike have competing conceptions of "what's wrong that needs fixing" as well as "what's right, good, and strong that can be advanced." This is a fundamental cause of diversity, and we will explore some of the implications for professionals and families alike.

Like our colleagues interested in school reform, we look for changes in "real school," i.e., the everyday interactions, behavioral routines, norms, rules, expectations, responsibilities and power-authority structures for educators, parents and students—especially as these are played out daily in classrooms. Upon closer inspection, our four change initiatives—school reform, school-linked services, parent involvement and community schools—can be analyzed, categorized and evaluated by the extent to which they change "real school." Similarly, these four initiatives can be analyzed, categorized and evaluated for their impact on the roles and responsibilities of parents and their view of families and local neighborhood-communities.

We identify classroom-based improvement strategies that simultaneously help teachers, children, parents, principals, and service providers. For example, we build upon existing ideas about teacher leadership and teaming, offering teacher-led, classroom-based partnerships involving paraprofessional parents and community leaders, youth and service providers. More caring, able people in the classroom will help children and teachers alike. These changes are radical because they make public the now-private work performances of teachers. Teachers accustomed to working alone now must work collaboratively. On the other hand, making teachers' work more public and collaborative means they no longer have to face alone the escalating challenges that children bring into their classrooms. This is a way to support teachers; it is a way to improve results and prevent burn-out.

A growing number of teachers appear to be ready for the attendant changes. Needs for this kind of assistance and support are especially evident in Title 1 school communities. With increasing requirements for authentic learning and assessment strategies, including the equivalent of an individualized educational plan for every child, nearly every teacher in every school is going to need this kind of help and support.

Mindful that teachers often are among the first people to know that a child and/or family has needs, we emphasize the pivotal role teachers can play in an early warning system. Over-burdened with the challenges of teaching and learning, teachers cannot be social workers, counselors and health professionals. With this in mind, we describe what we call support and response systems for teachers and children. Some of these support and response systems may be classroom-based, others will be school-based, and still others will be school-linked. Potential team members include parent paraprofessionals, community leaders, school nurses, counselors, psychologists and social workers.

We advocate more prominent roles and responsibilities for parents and community residents, claiming that they are important experts in their own right. We are not alone in proposing new responsibilities for parents, stressing the importance of family-centered practices (e.g., Adelman, 1996; Bruner, 1996; Corbett, Wilson, and Webb, 1996; Crowson and Boyd, 1996; Dunst, Trivette, and Hamby, 1996; Gardner, 1996; Heckman, Scull, and Conley, 1996; McClure, Jones, and Potter, 1996; Sailor, Kleinhammer-Trammel, et. al., 1996; Trivette, Dunst, and Hamby, 1996). Needs for face-to-face planning and shared decision-making involving families, community leaders and other key stakeholders are especially evident in Title 1 school communities.

One important lesson we have learned from school reform initiatives is that investments need to be made in teachers as well as children, youth and their families. Helping teachers to become more parent-responsive and family-oriented is one of the next challenges. An accompanying challenge is helping parents, principals, school board members, service providers and community leaders become more supportive of teachers.

How teachers are treated and nurtured influences the ways in which they interact with children, other educators and parents. This same line of thinking applies to service providers and other school professionals. If these front line practitioners' working conditions and challenges continue to erode their efficacy, health and well-being, they will not be able to sustain their work on the behalf of children, youth and families. Apathy, despair, burn-out and drop-out syndromes will remain prevalent. These syndromes affect entire schools, not just individual teachers. No one benefits when this occurs.

Like all change initiatives, this integrative work will succeed or fail to the extent that the persons expected to design, implement and evaluate it are provided appropriate opportunities for learning and development. The currently available literature and technical assistance materials are inadequate. These change initiatives will be successful to the extent that the key people expected to implement these changes—especially teachers, front-line health and social service providers, student-pupil support professionals, and parents—are enfranchised in the change process. This broadens existing definitions of school community leadership.

On the other hand, even the best technical assistance materials, policy changes, and capacity building initiatives will have limited impact if the professional educators, social service providers and health professionals are disinterested and unresponsive. Unfortunately, during our interviews and site visits we met professionals who had lost some of their sense of caring and concern for the children, youth and families they are supposed to help and serve. They evidenced some of the same needs and problems service providers see in challenged families. Their implicit message to us was either "make me care" or "give me a reason to have hope that things will get better." Norms of caring and concern, along with relationships characterized by high levels of mutual respect and social trust, head the list of non-negotiable ingredients in this new work. Without them, the quality of treatment and interaction that people experience in schools, service agencies, neighborhood organizations and homes will not improve. Improving results means improving the quality of treatment and interaction; in turn, this means guiding norms and a more inviting, empowering language.

This, then, is our effort to come to grips with the realities faced by pioneering school communities around the country. Children and youth are literally dying for attention, and the professionals who serve them need immediate supports and improved helping strategies. In keeping with the urgency of the situation, the needs for frank dialogue and greater clarity, we take some strong positions:

- Change initiatives should be integrated from the start. The degree of integration can be facilitated and assessed by identifiable indices of integration.
- It is essential that leaders in each school community identify shared goals and objectives, accept mutual accountability for their achievement, and develop data-gathering processes and procedures that facilitate decision-making and in-flight adjustments.
- The quality of treatment and interaction everyone experiences is an important indicator of whether changes have reached their intended destinations. Identifiable indices help planning and assessment.
- Although subjects matter, schools should be(come) more humane, family-supportive organizations, focusing upon children while supporting parents and families.
- If school-linked services, parent involvement and community school programs are launched only to "fix" problem children and youth, they will not be integrated into school reform efforts, and their promise for improving children's learning and performance will not be fully realized.
- The focal points of school reform are the teacher, child and the classroom; other school-related changes should respond to quality improvements in the relationship between children's learning and teachers' work.
- The transition from limited parental involvement to parent empowerment-family support is a key to integration and improved results for children, families and school communities.

What results can we expect from such complicated work? In time, the learning, school experiences, and academic achievement of challenged, vulnerable children and youth will improve, along with their health and overall functioning. Ideally, improvements for parents and families will result. Teachers' sense of efficacy and well-being also will improve; so will that of principals and other helping professionals. These changes in schools will spearhead the integration of primary prevention and early intervention strategies for health reform, family preservation and child welfare reform, juvenile justice reform and welfare reform (Adelman, 1996; Lawson and Briar-Lawson, 1997).

Cautions About Evaluation

Two ever-present dangers need to be recognized from the beginning. The first is over-promising, i.e., predicting too many successes too soon from pioneering work. Change takes time, and it take several years before all of the potential benefits will be realized. After all, this pioneering work has been preceded by decades of insufficient support and neglect. Rising poverty and violence have been paralleled by decreasing investments in poor rural and urban communities. It may take decades to rectify all of the damage that has been done to schools, families and their local neighborhood-communities. Having high standards for schools and school communities is one thing; asking them to do too much too fast is another.

The second danger is that school leaders and evaluators will focus exclusively upon children's academic achievement in schools. To avoid any misunderstanding, let us agree that each child's academic achievement is a priority; our position is that it should not be the only one. For, in reality, academic achievement is much easier to talk about than to measure (e.g., Glaser and Silver, 1994). The grades children receive from teachers are far from perfect measures. Standardized tests required by states are imperfect, too. Measurement issues are further complicated by the expectations of business leaders and political officials. Some concern themselves with the level of achievement (i.e., productivity), others with its distribution (i.e., inequality) (Gamoran, 1996, p. 107). Both are important, but discussions of achievement often swing toward one at the expense of the other, and focus on group or aggregate measures when the most important indicators may involve the learning and developmental changes of individual children. In short, until such time as the emergent field of authentic assessment reaches maturity, measuring children's academic achievement will be a risky business.

Glaser and Silver (1994) provide a thoughtful analysis of the ways in which measurement criteria and methods can pose problems for teachers and students. Moore (1992, pp. 136-137) provides other cautions about an exclusive focus upon academic achievement. For example, teachers may spend excessive time teaching toward the achievement tests, compromising more powerful learning experiences. Some schools may engage in dishonest practices to make their results look good.[3] In our experience, this is especially likely to occur when resource allocations are predicated upon performance improvements. It will take time before the academic achievement of many children improves. After all, according to school reform leaders, it takes years to implement their reform plans; it also takes years to build effective school-linked services, parent involvement and community school programs. In any case, academic achievement cannot be the only measurement and outcome priority. It must be accompanied by equally important measures of children's healthy development; changes in teachers' norms, values and behavioral practices, especially in classrooms; changes in school structures and cultures; changes in parents and entire families; and improvements in local neighborhood-communities (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Hofmann, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995).

When we caution against these two dangers, we are not suggesting that research and evaluation are not needed. To the contrary, we call for data-driven reforms, some designed and led by front-line teachers and service providers, youth and parents. By data-driven reforms, we mean intervention-improvement strategies that are inseparable from the results they seek. It is all too easy to get caught up in the excitement of new collaborative approaches and forget that these new practices must pass the acid test—are they making a difference in meeting the goals we have named? For example, Sid Gardner (1996) reminds us that collaborative practices must become outcomes-oriented; and that all helping professionals must become outcomes-accountable. According to Gardner, collaborative practices and organizational partnerships done badly may be part of the problem!

Building on our knowledge of relationships and interdependence, it is time to develop blame-free, mutual accountability criteria and methods that allow us to learn our way through the mazes of complex change. New approaches to research and evaluation are required for this work (e.g., Cousins and Earl, 1995; Fetterman, Kaftarian, and Wandersman, 1996; Knapp, 1995; Connell, Kubisch, Schorr and Weiss, 1995).

No one has all the answers to the crises involving children, their families and schools. There are no "miracle cures" or "magic bullets." We have learned these lessons and others we share in this monograph. Stakeholders in every school community must accept shared responsibilities for inventive work, finding ways to remove barriers along the way. Learning structures that enable stakeholders to set and solve problems as they arise are essential. We hope the lessons we have learned, the models we have developed, and the strategies we recommend will be helpful to families, professionals, civic leaders, and governmental officials who are doing this important work.

Footnotes

1. We continue to debate the relative merits and shortcomings associated with the word "problem." Some leaders in social work, education and other helping professions have stopped using the descriptor "problem" because of its negative connotations, especially the stigma it places on people, the ways in which it authorizes professional power over "clients," and because it deflects attention away from people's resilience, strengths and aspirations. The language of personal problems also encourages blaming the victim. On the other hand, "problem" is part of the language of everyday speech and thought; not everyone is prepared to abandon the word or the meanings it conveys. When we use the term "problem" in the following analysis, we do so because we want to communicate to the broadest possible audience, not because we endorse all of the negative connotations and impacts associated with the term. Our concern with problems indicates needs for language agreements in interprofessional education and practice.

2. Time was always in short supply, however. Our brief visits provided limited understanding of the rich, diverse cultures present. Site visits present trade-offs between depth of understanding in one site versus breadth of coverage encompassing many sites. Compromise is inevitable.

3. Ironically, the principal in one of the most successful school communities we visited was questioned by district officials when the students in her school surpassed performance expectations on proficiency tests. When the students continued to perform better, implicit accusations about test manipulation ended and the school community was offered as an exemplar for what good schools can do. We have learned that this is not a unique case. It derives from implicit beliefs among some district officials that some children cannot learn and achieve; and that some schools cannot change.

STRIVING FOR CLARITY

Defining the Four Change Initiatives

Books have been written on school reform. Others can be written on parent involvement, school-linked services and community schools. But if we do not define these four initiatives concisely and clearly, we run the risk of contributing to conceptual confusion. We provide concise descriptions of our four concepts, starting with school reform.

School Reform

The label "school reform" means different things to different people. The heart of school reform, in our view, is a clear, shared goal of improving results for children, especially their academic achievement. The various schools of thought on school reform—including Accelerated Schools, School Development Program, Coalition of Essential Schools, New American Schools, Communities in Schools, The Developmental Studies Program, The National Network for Educational Renewal, Success for All, Institute for Responsive Education and Project Zero—are united around this goal. Most propose that improving results depends upon improving teaching-learning strategies and children's experiences in classrooms. This requires that we improve teachers' professional development, their work orientations, practices and working conditions (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 1996; Elmore, 1995; 1996; Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992; Little and McLaughlin, 1993; Newmann, 1993).

Schools of thought vary in the strategies they employ to make these improvements and in the substantive changes they propose. For example, some target the school's structure; this is called restructuring. Others target the school's culture(s); this is called reculturing. Some target both. If this wasn't sufficiently confusing, some people use the terms school reform and school restructuring interchangeably.

Restructuring strategies involve changes in power, authority, rewards and responsibilities, resource allocations and decision-making. The idea is to reduce the problems caused by school bureaucracies. Here are a few examples of restructuring strategies:

- Reduce "red tape" and top-down change mandates
- Involve parents, community members and teachers in decision making
- Establish a shared vision and mission
- Create new management approaches and structures at the school (e.g., site-based management teams, school improvement teams).

Proponents of organizational restructuring believe that these and other related changes will facilitate teachers' professional development, improve teaching-learning strategies and result in higher academic achievement as well as better school experiences.

Reculturing strategies seek to change the norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, rules and behavioral routines that comprise the school's culture and sub-cultures (i.e., groups of teachers and groups of students who identify with and interact regularly with each other). Although posting a new mission statement may encourage reculturing—and many of the schools we visited have done this—it is not by itself evidence that reculturing is occurring. When school communities, not just schools, are involved, reculturing also involves parents, community leaders and pupil support professionals (e.g., Adelman, 1996; Lawson and Briar-Lawson, 1997).

Here are a few examples of reculturing strategies:

- Cultivate among school staff members a belief that all children are able to learn and all have strengths; these beliefs become the basis for shared high standards and expectations for all children
- Nurture among all members of the school community norms of caring, high standards and concern (Noddings, 1986; 1992); ensure that all members of the school honor these norms in daily interactions and treatment of each other
- Create learning and support communities among teachers, principals, school support staff and children
- Prepare teachers as leaders; develop rules and structures that foster this leadership
- Respond to racial, ethnic and class differences among students by promoting culturally-congruent and -responsive behavioral norms, teaching-learning materials and classroom environments.

Many reculturing strategies focus on teachers, both as individuals and groups (sub-cultures). Others focus upon students and their subcultures. Some focus upon both teachers and students, especially the implicit and explicit rules, norms and practices that structure their daily interactions in schools. A few include parents and other pupil support professionals working at schools. Reculturing strategies often begin with teachers and students at the classroom level; they are more bottom-up than top-down.

Restructuring and reculturing are related. We know that it is difficult to complete one without working on the other; we are still learning about the dynamics of this reciprocal relationship. There is just cause to caution against top-down restructuring alone, hoping that it will improve teachers' work, classroom cultures and children's learning. According to Elmore (1995, 1996), Fullan (1993, p. 68) and Newmann (1993), reculturing leads to restructuring more effectively than the reverse. In other words, the challenge is to develop responsive organizational structures and district policies that derive from, and reinforce, optimal practices in classrooms.

As Tyack and Cuban (1995) note, the question is whether school reform changes "real school." To what extent are teachers' orientations, behavioral routines and working conditions altered? To what extent are students' roles, responsibilities and subcultures changed? To what extent are the implicit and explicit rules, norms, values and goals that govern daily life in classrooms different as a consequence of school reform? Is there evidence of new commitments, interactions, and competencies among teachers, students and principals? Do results improve?

Parent Involvement

As in the case of school reform, parent involvement is a common label with different, even competing, meanings. Several approaches to school reform include explicit plans for parents (e.g., Accelerated Schools, School Development Program, Success for All, Institute for Responsive Education, Center for School-Family-Community Partnerships, Communities in Schools). Parent involvement is applied to a variety activities and participation initiatives (e.g., Adelman, 1994; Epstein, 1995; 1996; Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1995; Moore, 1992; Smerkar, 1996 a and b; Winters, 1993). Although Epstein (1996) claims that the label "parent involvement" is no longer in good currency, our work does not confirm her claims. The concept of parent involvement is thriving. Other terms in use include parent empowerment (e.g., Alameda, 1996; Henry, 1996; Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994; Lawson and Briar-Lawson, 1997), family involvement (e.g., Dombusch and Glasgow, 1996; Eccles and Harold, 1996; Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994; Liontos, 1992; Sailor, Kleinhammer-Tramill, et. al., 1996; Seeley, 1985; Smerkar, 1996 a and b; US Department of Education, 1994) and parent and family school involvement (e.g., Reglin, 1993).

In addition to expected differences across school communities, we found differences within them. In other words, people in the same school or school community had different expectations, goals and meanings in mind even when they used the same language.

Clearly, there is a need for a thorough analysis of parent involvement, parent empowerment, family involvement, family support and related descriptors used in the literature. Although we cannot complete this work here, we will attempt to provide clarification by introducing the following two frameworks:

FRAMEWORK 1:
Parent Involvement in School Reform

Since parent involvement is the most common label, and this is the one we use in the title of our monograph, we will start with it. Both in the schools we visited and in the literature we have reviewed, the language of parent involvement occurs when schools are the unit of analysis and separate school reform initiatives are underway. In these instances, parent involvement efforts fall on a continuum (see also Epstein, 1995). At one end, parents have little power or influence over school decisions and matters concerning their children's experiences and performance in school (for example, a school where parent participation is limited to a traditional PTA or PTO). Parent involvement in children's homework is often a mainstay. A school where parents help out in the front office, hallways, playgrounds and cafeterias is a next phase of involvement. Parent- and family-based curricula (e.g., FamilyMath, family-based literacy) are next. Moving toward the other end of the continuum, parents serve as instructional assistants in the classroom and are involved in decision-making councils at the school. Finally, parents serve as partners in problem-solving, helping design, implement and evaluate teaching-learning experiences and new service and support strategies.

The idea of *parent involvement* starts with this question: How can parents help the school, especially teachers? When parent involvement is prioritized in separate school reform initiatives, there are usually two goals:

1) To give schools in general and teachers in particular more social supports (e.g., make schools safer, free teachers from non instructional duties) and economic resources (e.g., funds from parent-sponsored events, parent donations to schools).
2) To improve children's learning and academic achievement in school.

Educators have believed that when parents become involved, they help teachers help their own and others' children. Nearly everyone assumes that more parent involvement is a good thing because it is associated with improvements in children's academic achievement. Evaluators and researchers have followed suit, looking for and modeling the effects of different kinds of parent involvement on children's academic achievement (e.g., Coleman and Hoffer, 1987; Eccles and Harold, 1996; Epstein, 1995; 1996; Henderson and Berla, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1995). Barriers and practical deterrents to involvement also have been identified (e.g., Adelman, 1994; Epstein, 1996). Problems arise when parent involvement is done badly (e.g., Epstein, 1996). There are justifiable concerns about curricular and school takeovers by parents (e.g., Casanova, 1996).

In this conception of parent involvement, the missions, goals and objectives, and daily activities of schools are not likely to undergo significant change. Schools continue to focus on, and exist for, children. Schools remain, first and foremost, academic institutions concerned with children's learning and academic achievement. Parents are one component of school reform, but not the most important. Schools remain child- and subject-centered. This is a one-generation change strategy: all adults are focused on children's learning and schooling.

Encouraging findings about the relationship between parent involvement and academic achievement have led to a second set of questions: Are all parents provided the same invitations and access? To what extent do schools include parents who were not successful students while they were in school? Research and practice alike reveal unequal involvement. Parent involvement varies by race, ethnicity and social class affiliations. If you want to predict which parents are not encouraged to be involved in school, find the children who are not treated fairly by educators (e.g., Anyon, 1995; Casanova, 1996; Delgado-Gaitin, 1992; Harry, 1992; Henry, 1996; Lareau, 1989; 1996; Smerkar, 1996a; Wells and Serna, 1995). In fact, educators often select the kinds of parents they want involved and structure their activities and participation.

This kind of parent involvement is self-serving for educators. It is not likely to result in changes in "real school," in part because teachers, principals and other educators continue to monopolize power and authority over schools and children.

FRAMEWORK 2: Parent Empowerment, Family Support and Educational Reform

A second framework involves sharing authority and power. Descriptors such as parent empowerment and, less frequently, family support replace the more conventional conception of parent involvement.

With *parent empowerment*, the question is: How can educators and other professionals help parents realize their aspirations and, at the same time, achieve goals they have set for their children? With *family support*, the question is: How can professionals, governmental officials, business and community leaders, and other families strengthen family support networks and local neighborhood-communities?

Parent empowerment and family support are used when the unit of analysis is the school community, not just one school. Concern remains about how parents and families can help children succeed in school. At the same time, however, leaders also ask: How can educators and schools help parents? How can we support and strengthen families? Mindful that parents and families are the first and most important educators of children, leaders in these school communities plan for the broader process of education, including the education of the family. They talk about family-supportive schools, family-oriented schools or community schools.

This is a two-generation strategy—it targets both children and parents. It may mean fundamental changes in child- and subject-centered schools. For example, family support and resource centers are established in each school. Parents and other adult community residents are no longer tourists; they have identifiable, permanent responsibilities. Some may be paid for newly established jobs as paraprofessionals in schools, social and health service agencies, and other organizations involved in new school-family-community partnerships.[4] Whether these changes also lead to deep cultural and structural changes in "real school" remains an important question.

Evidence is accumulating on the value and importance of this two-generation strategy (e.g., Alameda, 1996; Bruner, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995; Larner, Halpern and Harkavy, 1993; McDonald and Sayger, in press; Winters, 1993). For example, parent-family social networks may develop through shared involvement in school activities (Smerkar, 1996a). Social trust networks and social cohesion are important determinants of children's learning and development as well as family well-being (e.g., Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1995; Wilkinson, 1996). Parent education and family support efforts contribute to the vitality of local neighborhood-communities. In turn, the characteristics of local-neighborhood communities influence children's academic achievement and success in school (Bruner, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995) and influence the schools' resources, instructional tasks and academic performance (Cooley, 1993; Hofmann, 1996).

School-Linked Services

Many school leaders are bringing health and social service providers onto school sites, establishing firmer connections between schools and community service agencies, or both. School-linked services is the label used to describe these changes. A related descriptor is full-service school, usually accompanied by the phrase "one-stop shopping." In reality, few schools have the space and resources to relocate all of the service providers; in most cases, service providers and their agencies are linked to schools.

We began our research with the same kind of definition of school-linked services that Gaston and Brown (1995) used:

- Services are provided to children and their families through a collaboration among schools, health-oriented community organizations, and social service agencies.
- The schools are among the central participants in planning and governing the collaborative effort.
- The services are provided or coordinated by personnel located at the school or a site near the school. (p. vi)

Their study, like ours, proceeded from twin assumptions:

1) These service configurations are new and innovative, by which we meant "original."
2) School-linked services could and should be integrated into school reform efforts.

In fact, the idea of school-linked and -based services has significant historical precedents (Tyack, 1992; Kritek, 1996). But, even if they are not original, these school-linked services are being experienced by educators and service providers alike as new.

When school-linked services are present, the stage has been set to proceed beyond school to educational reform, to think beyond the school to the school community, to envision school leaders as all the stakeholders in the school community, not just educators.

Predictably, we observed considerable variability among school communities in what they mean by school-linked and school-based services (Adler and Gardner, 1994; Corrigan and Udas, 1996; Cibulka and Kritek, 1996; Dryfoos, 1994; Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994). There are at least three reasons for this variability:

1) Services, like schools, are structured in accordance with the needs and wants of local communities.
2) The people making the decisions about which services are offered and where vary; in some communities, parents and residents are asked for their preferences, while in others, professionals make the decisions.
3) There are competing conceptions of "services" and service delivery systems. For example, in some school sites, services are defined narrowly to mean crisis-responsive and therapeutic. In other school sites, services are defined broadly to include family-related resources (e.g., income supplements for transportation, child care, job training) and supports (e.g., the development of neighborhood associations, caregiver support groups, and mutual-aid and assistance networks).

Examples of services provided at, or in conjunction with, schools include:

- health education and promotion programs (including mental health services)
- child protection services
- legal assistance programs
- juvenile justice and police services
- recreation and leisure services
- violence prevention programs
- substance abuse programs
- occupational development and job assistance programs
- literacy and reading assistance programs
- housing, clothing and feeding programs
- community economic development programs.

Clearly, there are differences in kind here, not just differences in degree. This variability complicates research and evaluation efforts. Even though they use the same descriptors, school leaders often do not agree on basic issues such as the services they offer, the people they serve and the results they expect. Thus, we need to be wary of generalizations about school-linked services and their relationship to school reform. Unique features at each site are every bit as important as commonalties and similarities across sites.

One caution about school-linked services: Many schools, especially urban schools, already have significant investments in what they call pupil support personnel, or student services professionals (e.g., school social workers, school nurses, school psychologists, and school counselors). Indeed, on some school sites there may be as many salaried professionals performing this kind of work as teachers (Tyack, 1992). Typically, state and local school-linked services initiatives have ignored these important personnel resources (Adelman, 1996). Feeling ignored and under-appreciated, pupil support and student services professionals often have led resistance to school-linked services and impeded their integration with school reform. There is a powerful lesson here, and it has prompted us to search for a more inclusive definition of school-linked services, which we offer later in this monograph.[5]

Community Schools

Schools of the community should serve the community. The idea of community schools, also called community education, dates back to John Dewey's thinking about schools as social centers (1902). It is again gaining popularity (Benson and Harkavy, 1997; Harkavy and Puckett, 1994). Community schools include extended day, week and year programs offered at schools. The ultimate extension of this idea is the 24-hour, year-round school that serves children, families and other residents in the community surrounding the school.

Community school initiatives respond to local needs and wants. In fact, there is some overlap between what are defined as community school programs and school-linked services initiatives, especially in community schools that do not use the language of school-linked services. In other words, community school programs can include some of the same offerings that are called school-linked services in other sites (e.g., parent education, domestic violence prevention, substance abuse programs). Community schooling is offered as a way to rebuild communities, contribute to economic revitalization of neighborhoods, and restore democratic traditions and service ideals (Benson and Harkavy, 1997).

Examples of community school programs include:

- adult and family literacy classes
- homework clubs and extended day, week and year academic programs for school-aged children and youth
- special classes for suspended and expelled students
- GED programs
- sports programs
- health-related programs (e.g., cooking and nutrition classes)

- parent education programs
- youth clubs
- computer instruction
- arts and crafts programs
- job training and occupational development counseling
- micro-enterprise and small business development for youth, parents and families.

Many school sites use community school programs as vehicles to increase parent involvement in schools and in the education of children at home. By offering classes in sewing and quilting, for example, parents who are recent immigrants or who have unpleasant memories of their own schooling have been enticed onto school sites; once there, positive experiences can pave the way for deeper involvement in their children's education. Sport and exercise programs can have the same result for both mothers and fathers. Initiatives like these help the community see the school as "family friendly."

Parent- and family-support networks involving mutual aid and assistance may grow from a single sewing or an aerobic dance class. In principle, they make possible a two-generation change strategy in which parents and their children are educated, served and supported simultaneously.

Hybrids: Seeking Integration from the Beginning

When integration of now-separate change initiatives is prioritized, either/or thinking is inappropriate and often misleading. This is what we typically observed and heard. Our site visits, interviews and literature review support our claim that four separate change initiatives are being defined and implemented. At the same time, however, there are hybrids that incorporate one or more of these change initiatives and attempt to integrate them. We want to emphasize this finding and provide a few examples.

Some approaches to school reform include parent involvement and variations of school-linked services. Examples include, but are not limited to: the School Development Program (Comer, 1995), Success for All (Slavin, Madden, Dolan, and Wasik, 1996), Accelerated Schools (Hopfenberg, Levin, and Associates, 1993), statewide reform plans in Kentucky (e.g., Smerkar, 1996b), The Hogg Foundation Schools of the Future in Texas, Communities (formerly, Cities) in Schools, The Developmental Studies Program, the Institute for Responsive Education, The Atlas Project and the Center for School-Family-Community Partnerships.

The School-Based Youth Services Initiative in New Jersey combines school-linked services with community schools. Using after school recreation-leisure programs as "magnets," service providers are able to present non-stigmatizing, welcoming pathways to services for children and youth. Evidence in support of these programs is impressive (Tetleman, 1996), suggesting the powerful impact of integrating community schools and school-linked services.

These examples illustrate the ways in which integration is possible and desirable. Our learning has been accelerated because we have observed and studied them. These and other exemplars make the recommendations we offer in this report all the more possible and practical.

Implications

Of the four change initiatives, school reform is by far the most developed in conceptualization, implementation and organization. There are significant differences among school reform initiatives and even competition among them. Each school reform movement has formalized its values, principles and strategies. Each has its own way of planning and managing change. So when a school community joins a school reform effort, it is expected to support the values, principles and policies that define that reform movement. In some cases, people in the school are expected to learn and use the special language that accompanies the reform movement.

Thus, the other three change initiatives—school-linked services, parent involvement and community education—must be tailored to fit the features, language and requirements of the specific school reform movement(s) at that school. There is just cause to wonder about the readiness and willingness of service providers and other leaders to do this work. Integrating services is challenging enough without the added burden of figuring out how they must be talked about, and adapted, to conform to an identifiable school of thought for school reform.

National school reform leaders believe they are doing all they can just to keep up with the demands imposed by schools requesting to join in their work. They view the other change initiatives as "extras," just one of many local options an individual school may choose in addition to the school reform initiative. These school reform leaders have their own stock of experiences with change. They know how difficult it is for schools to adopt their reform agendas. They wonder aloud how much change we can expect of school communities. They suggest that school reform, as their school of thought structures it, is sufficiently demanding in its own right. They find it difficult to imagine adding on more challenges.

Despite historical precedents (e.g., Benson and Harkavy, 1997; Harkavy and Puckett, 1994; Tyack, 1992), the other change initiatives (particularly school-linked services and community schools) are, in the eyes of school reform leaders, new. They are not accompanied by an established literature, proven technical assistance strategies and documented implementation guidelines. In other words, a compelling case has not yet been made for educational, as opposed to, school reform (see also Adelman and Taylor, 1996; Moore, 1992).

Advocates and supporters of individual change initiatives must become convinced that the goals and objectives of school-linked services, parent involvement, community education and school reform are inseparable and interdependent. Then they must accept mutual accountability for these shared goals and objectives. Until this occurs, we cannot expect school reform leaders, community resident leaders or service providers to commit time and resources to any but their own initiatives.

This is where organizational partnerships and school-family community consortia enter into the picture. What we call consortia also are called collaboratives in some school communities and commissions in others; or, they may have special labels such as Healthy Kids 2000. Consortia can help educators, service providers and families define and solve problems, secure resources and initiate policy change. These consortia prevent schools from accepting too many responsibilities, deflecting attention from their unique, specialized responsibilities. Consortia help convene school leaders and other diverse stakeholders to identify shared values, goals and objectives; pool resources; facilitate collaborative work practices; structure interorganizational agreements and work toward policy change (see also Gardner, 1996). They help integrate all of the change initiatives underway in the school and surrounding community.

These kinds of umbrella organizational structures were not well-developed in the school communities we visited, although the need for them was evident. Collaborative work practices and organizational partnerships were constrained because diverse stakeholders lacked regular opportunities for face-to-face problem-solving, planning and decision making. Schools tried to do too much, further diluting scarce resources. Chief executive officers, middle managers and front line practitioners in collaborating organizations were not in agreement, posing serious alignment barriers. Absent consortia to convene the key stakeholders, integration and collaboration were side-tracked. This is one of the most important lessons we learned.

Footnotes

4. Later, we will connect this employment strategy with the new challenges of welfare reform.

5. We view school-based health clinics as important components of school-linked services. Although we will report selected findings later, we will not give these clinics special attention here. Joy Dryfoos (1994), who helped popularize and advance the idea of "full service schools," provides relevant information about school-based and -linked health clinics. Interested readers are referred to her work and to The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, which has supported the development of these clinics and published evaluations.

Findings from the Field

and New Questions

At the beginning, we decided to focus on two schools of thought regarding school reform: Accelerated Schools and the School Development Program. We chose these from among all the school reform initiatives for two reasons: both are structured to assist schools that serve children challenged by socially toxic environments, and both appear to invite partnerships and integration with other change initiatives. We did not restrict our site visits to these two reform movements, however. As our work continued, we looked for other elementary and middle schools that were advancing the integration of school reform and other change initiatives.

We began our work with a two-sided assumption. We assumed that school reform and the other change initiatives needed to be integrated. In the same breath, we assumed that they could be integrated. We planned to make informed observations, record them, and later share our learning with other school communities hoping to follow the lead of these "lighthouse" demonstration schools.

We now see that we were making a bold assumption, one that was not always shared by leaders in the school communities we visited. In most cases we did not observe or hear about the kind of integration we hoped to find. Rather, leaders told us that they were seeking it. Instead of telling us how to integrate school reform and other change initiatives, they often asked us how to do it. We had underestimated the challenges they confront and the work that lies ahead.

Our interviewees shared with us the excitement, but also the burdens, of what it has been like to be the equivalent of a national tourist attraction for foundation officers, other school community leaders and consultants. They helped us understand the loneliness and doubt they sometimes experience. In many cases, these leaders are relentless advocates for children, youth and families. Nevertheless, they are not satisfied with their results in these "advanced school communities."

We felt inspired by a few visionary leaders who imagined the school community of the future in which change initiatives will be wholly integrated. In most cases, however, people were struggling with the demands of the sheer number of changes and the ever-increasing risk factors and learning/developmental barriers that children bring to their schools. Because there are few, if any, leadership development programs that focus on the initiation, implementation and integration of change initiatives, school community leaders are forced to rely on trial-and-error learning and planning—as and if time allows. Challenged by pioneering work, these leaders' needs for resources often are not met.

Grounds for Optimism: Emergent Practices as a Basis for Future Integration

The good news is that key components of optimal practices are emerging from successful work in these innovative school communities. Educators and service providers modeling what we and others describe as optimal practices do these related things:

- They hold firm to the core value that all children can learn and succeed in school.
- They have stopped viewing children, youth and families as deficient—that is, as "walking clusters of needs and problems." Instead, professionals talk about and look for assets, strengths and resilience upon which they build learning and development strategies.
- They understand cultural diversity, see it as an asset and build upon it.
- They welcome help from other professionals and parents because they recognize shared accountability for results.
- They are staunch advocates for children, youth and families and refuse to let anyone give up on their learning, development, health and well-being.
- They create and consistently refer to mission statements proclaiming the talents, gifts and importance of every child and family.
- Modeling a "whatever it takes attitude," they take calculated risks in their quests to help children, youth and their families.

- They have high standards and accept shared responsibilities for outcomes.
- They are committed to collaborative practices and problem-solving.

Optimal practices are firmly grounded in agreed-upon norms and values. Chief among these are: caring, empathy, high expectations and standards, relentless advocacy, cultural competence, and a no-reject, whatever-it-takes ethic. These practices are essential in building links among school reform, school-linked services, parental involvement and community school initiatives. Together, they act to cement collaborative work cultures among diverse people.

Here is a revealing example: In an elementary school in Sarasota, Florida, the principal and teachers view and treat all the children in their school as gifted. Most of the educators are white; most of the children are African-American. These children, still the poorest in the community, have been recognized nationally for their academic success, which is one result of the school's strengths-based approach, together with high expectations and standards, appropriate teaching-learning strategies, and a caring environment. The principal led this approach, deriving it from his background in gifted and talented education. His reasoning was this: If it works for gifted children, why can't it work for all children? And he was right: All children in the school became gifted, once teachers, educators and service providers increasingly began to talk and treat them this way.

In the few school communities in which we experienced optimal practices, a mutually-reinforcing spiral occurred among practitioners, children and families. Each success simultaneously improves the attitudes and efficacy of everyone. People talk about their sense of empowerment. A "can do" attitude prevails.

The Bad News: Barriers and Unmet Needs

Predictably, we found more barriers, problems and challenges than successes. Almost without exception, school leaders acknowledged that they were still learning and that their search for more effective and efficient change strategies was continuing.

We heard statements from elementary and middle school teachers like this one: "Not only do these kids not want to learn, but some can't learn. They are disruptive in the classroom and the school. We do not want them here." In these schools, the truancy rate may be as high as 30 percent on any given day; from 10-30 percent of the students are expelled each year.

Teachers especially have not been prepared to address the learning barriers and behavioral problems that students bring, and schools have not been organized to respond to these children's needs. The result is one or both of the following: (1) Teachers and other educators blame the students and their parents; and/or (2) Both teachers' and students' efficacy is eroded (e.g., Ross, 1995), starting downward spirals that may affect the entire school.

In some of the schools we visited, teachers viewed the service providers as a "quick fix" for children too needy and challenged for their classrooms. In other words, service providers occasioned more of the pushing-out and pulling-out of students for special treatment. We know that some children need the help. On other hand, too many children are labeled as "learning disabled" because teachers and other educators are unprepared for their differences and learning barriers. The push-out, pull-out pattern allows teachers to blame the students. They neglect needs for new teaching-learning strategies that bring changes in "real school" at the classroom level.[6]

Furthermore, results-oriented visions, missions and clear descriptions of competent practice frequently are missing at the beginning of these change initiatives. So are agreed-upon values, norms and principles for collaboration. As they appear later in the change process, they often are incomplete and fragmented.

Participating professions and their respective organizations bring to the table ideas about what's wrong and right, together with preferred ways to define, implement and evaluate their work. Each is likely to assume that they, and their work practices, are not the problem. Each tends to believe that the other professions and organizations need to be "fixed." We heard from service providers, time and again, that the educators needed to become more sensitive to children, youth and families. We heard from educators about service providers' needs to address children's risk factors and learning-development barriers early, so teachers did not have to be social workers and health educators.

We observed open conflicts among educators, service providers, parents and community leaders in situations where norms for collaboration (e.g., blame-free problem-solving) were missing. Formal partnership agreements that bind organizations and people, stipulate responsibilities and procedures, and address important issues such as confidentiality are often essential to successful integration.

One source of conflict lies in existing policies, especially their rules and eligibility criteria. Most school-linked service initiatives remain crisis-oriented; they attempt to remediate problems after they have been evidenced. Preventive agendas are difficult to launch because policies that structure service providers' work require proof of harm, need and service eligibility before services can be provided.

The school communities we visited usually started with a pilot school, linking it to social and health service providers and their agencies. School community leaders assumed, just as we did not so long ago, that once the pilot school was successful, they could "go to scale" with other schools in the district. This is a good idea in principle. In practice, the idea is sound to the extent that sufficient resources are present to allow districts to expand to a larger scale of operations. For example, where school-linked services are involved, resources are typically insufficient. Especially in communities with high population densities of vulnerable children, youth and families, there simply are not enough service providers for all of the schools needing them.

Observations and Analysis

As we came to grips with these realities, our questions became more refined. Instead of merely asking, "What's out there?" we began to look for examples of effective change and integration. To give readers a sense of our learning and developmental journey, we want to share some of the key questions we explored:

1) Are the schools and school communities child-centered? Child-focused and family-centered? Child-focused, family-centered and community development-oriented?

Despite the expressed commitment of the majority of state agencies to family-centered and supportive practices, many service providers and educators remain child-, not family-centered. Indeed, many schools are struggling with the challenges of becoming less subject-centered and more child-centered. Becoming family-centered is an even greater demand. Rarely do educators talk explicitly about schools as family-supportive organizations.

The vast majority of the school communities we visited view children, youth and families as dependent clients. Even though some leaders and practitioners talk about empowerment and capacity-building, most do not view families as partners and joint designers. Programs to prepare parents for work as paraprofessional educators and service providers are rare.

Educators and service providers alike are challenged when asked to frame a child's presenting problem or need as a family support and involvement issue. Many professionals are accustomed to blaming parents for the conditions and characteristics of their children. Helping front-line teachers, service providers and middle managers think, talk and act in family-centered terms must be a centerpiece of leadership development strategies.

Amidst all of the talk about wrap-around services for children, youth and families, most families already engage in wrap-around strategies for their members. Families are comprehensive service, support and resource systems. They have strengths as well as needs, aspirations and dreams as well as challenges. When educators and service providers view children and families as "walking clusters of needs and problems" requiring services, they miss these fundamental characteristics of families. They also miss the opportunity to build upon the capacities and desires of families to help themselves and others.

Parents and parent advocates can be key integrators of school reform, school-linked services and community education. They are indispensable resources and experts who have intimate knowledge of the child, family and community. Parents are unlikely to say, "I only teach," "I only do social work," "I only answer the phone in the front office." For example, many school communities struggle to provide support to children and youth who have failed several times, or who are suspended regularly. They require more interpersonal support than traditional front-line practitioners can provide; improved outcomes cannot rest with professionals alone. Parents and parent advocates working collaboratively with professional service providers and educators on behalf of these children and their families can help create successful solutions.

Family-centered premises and practices can be(come) cornerstones for collaborative work practices and organizational partnerships. (See Appendix A for examples.) In fact, in some of our site visits, "family" was the generative metaphor used by school community leaders. Professionals talked about themselves as the equivalent of dysfunctional work families. By agreeing to collaborate, they had done the work needed to become healthy work families, supporting and strengthening each other as well as the children, parents and families they served.

Community development was not a top priority in most of the school communities we visited. We did find some such work, however. Examples include the Feinberg-Fisher Elementary School in Miami Beach, Florida; Shaw and Turner Middle Schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the Vaughn Street Next Century Learning Center in San Fernando, California. In almost every case, school leaders talk about helping children while strengthening families and improving the community—all at the same time. This is clearly a different way to think about schools, communities and intervention-improvement strategies. This is exciting work. Technical assistance and capacity-building supports will be needed if other school communities are to follow suit.

2) What roles do parents play? What are the obstacles to integrating parents as decision makers and participants?

Increasing parental involvement is a stated goal of the vast majority of the school communities we visited. Beyond agreement on this goal, there is considerable variability about what "parent involvement" entails. Many school communities envision little more than an expanded version of the PTO or PTA. A few seek selective involvement in classrooms.

Time and again we heard from service providers, educators and other parents that the same limited number of parents is involved in the school. Parents who most need to be involved, i.e., those whose children are experiencing academic difficulties, are not. Conventional approaches such as parent-teacher organizations and parent-teacher conferences do not attract these parents or sustain their involvement. We also heard that parents of middle and secondary school students are less likely to be(come) involved than parents of elementary school students, despite research evidence that suggests that parents, students and teachers all seek more involvement (see also Epstein, 1996; Dornbusch and Glasgow, 1996; Scott-Jones, 1996).

Although educators talk about the need for more parent involvement, many do not know how to improve school-family relationships. A case example illustrates the problem and suggests a solution:

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In one school teachers had been trying for two years to get parents involved. Their parent involvement committee met continuously. They sent home flyers and surveys. In their surveys teachers asked parents to indicate what they might be able to offer the school. They did not ask, however, what the school might be able to do for the parents. The teachers lamented that they only received two completed surveys from parents.

Later, the teachers and principal established a parent resource center, offered evening and weekend classes, and sponsored family fun nights, including pot luck dinners. Gradually, the parents began to come to the school. They came not just because they were receiving helpful classes and related support, but because they experienced the school and teachers as caring about them.

In another school, 12 health and social service providers were re-located to the school. When their services were not utilized as expected, parents were asked why. Parents responded by saying that the services provided were not the ones they wanted. Parents wanted legal assistance, job counseling, occupational development and domestic violence prevention; as these were added, parents became more involved in the school.

Some school-community leaders have trained and employed "parent advocates" to recruit and train other parents, especially those parents who may be described as "impossible to reach and involve" (e.g., Alameda, 1996; Winters, 1993). We have observed and helped advance this work in Florida, New York, Ohio and California. These advocates also mediate school-family communication and problem-solving with parents and caregivers who are not involved in the school. Parent involvement of this kind helps children, but it also helps parents by serving as an occupational ladder.[7]

The unwillingness of professionals to recognize the importance, assets, expertise and abilities of parents can be a serious barrier. Parents we interviewed know their limitations, but they want to be respected for their strengths and abilities. Many know that they can accomplish tasks that professionals alone cannot. Educators and service providers have not been convinced that parents and parent advocates are indispensable partners in work with children. These professionals' attitudes and behavior toward parents are key to gaining and sustaining parent involvement.

Educators are no different from other kinds of professionals and humans; unless they perceive compelling reasons to do so, they would prefer to change as little as possible. With this in mind, we can borrow and revise Moore's (1992, pp. 149-150) explanations of why principals and teachers avoid naming and acting on problems:

- An established practice that may not help students or parents is viewed as helpful to teachers and their work.
- The solution to a problem would require aggressive initiative by educators whose prevailing orientation is to live in the here-and-now and "make do."
- The action may run counter to dominant professional norms (e.g., the privacy of teachers' work performance) and dominant school practices (e.g., curricular tracking , special education referrals).

As one middle school principal told us, it is challenging enough to get teachers to think more about children than about their subjects. However, our observations and interviews suggest that new conceptions of parent empowerment and family support are critical to improving results for children and schools. Once family members become partners, joint designers and even co-evaluators, once these family members are given new roles and supports, professionals' ideas about needs, problems and solutions often change. Children are helped. Parents change, too, and, as they become hopeful and confident, their families are strengthened. For teachers, these are profound changes. If teachers are expected to lead these changes, then they must believe that these new strategies contribute to enlightened self-interest—they will support teachers at the same time they help children and parents.

3) What kind of school-linked services are being offered? What are their successes and challenges? Are they integrated with other change initiatives?

Since we began this phase of our work in 1992, many states and local school districts have launched school-linked service initiatives. Both the rate and kinds of changes are accelerating. We are not alone in having difficulty keeping up with all the related developments, beginning with the growing number of school-based and -linked medical and dental clinics.

In New York City, we visited school-based health clinics staffed by physicians, dentists, nurses and social workers. Other clinics we visited were staffed only by nurses. Medical and dental clinics remain, however, exceptions, not the rule. In some states and communities, opposition to school-based health clinics has been grounded in conflicts over family planning and education-prevention strategies for safer sexual practices.

The schools we visited have not developed links between the clinics and the school curriculum. These links are especially important in elementary schools, which often lack health and physical education specialists. Such links can be planned in combination with national efforts, mounted through the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Association for the Advancement of Health Education, to advance comprehensive school health education programs. Nor have school communities reaped the potential benefits these clinics may offer to staff-community health and wellness programs.

At Intermediate School 218 in New York City, school-based social and health services were planned early on. Educators and service providers discovered that a number of children were absent in the mornings because they were waiting to be served at the emergency room of a local hospital; most were from families living in poverty. School officials and service providers arranged to re-locate some of the emergency room functions to the school. Attendance increased and even more parents became involved in the school.

Facility and space constraints are everywhere, or so it seemed during our site visits. We interviewed service providers whose tiny offices were once closets. Portable buildings were commonplace. Even in new schools, needs for space were underestimated.

Space constraints are among the least important challenges associated with school-linked services, however. The majority of the teachers and student support professionals we observed and interviewed have not been provided clear, detailed information about why service providers have been moved to the school. Moreover, many of the teachers have not received what they expected—namely, personal contacts and immediate response systems from the service providers. Teachers worry about the time children spend outside the classroom receiving services and supports.

4) What kind of community school programs are being offered? What are the successes and challenges? In what ways are these programs integrated with other change initiatives?

Community school programs are again growing in popularity. In many of the school communities we visited, these school-based programs provided educational, health and recreational opportunities for children and youth and, in some cases, for parents and other adult residents. In a few instances, community schools were viewed as mechanisms for mobilizing parents and other adults to become involved in community economic development and school improvement.

If the planning frame was school reform, then the focus was on how extended day and year programs help children's academic achievement and overall success in school. If the planning frame was educational reform and the school community, parents and other stakeholders were involved, and the goals expanded to encompass family support and community development.

These community school programs usually lacked precise goals, objectives and rigorous evaluations. Nevertheless, the programs were valued by educators, sponsors and participants alike. All viewed these programs as self-justifying, perhaps understandably so. After all, many of these community school programs are re-emerging in urban and rural communities impacted by poverty, unhealthy environments and unemployment. Especially in urban communities, schools are like sanctuaries; they, along with a scattering of neighborhood organizations, churches, mosques and synagogues, are among the few remaining organizations that serve children and their families (e.g., Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992; 1995; McLaughlin, Irby and Langman, 1994).

The programs we visited tended to function separately from school reform and school-linked service initiatives. For example, where exercise and health classes are offered to families and community residents, we saw a need for better integration with other change initiatives. The Centers for Prevention and Disease Control's recommended approach to comprehensive school-community health promotion and education points in this direction. Community school programs for health enhancement can be a vital link between school reform and school-linked services.

Overall, community school programs did not usher in changes in "real school." We saw little evidence of recommended connections between schools and neighborhood organizations for children and youth (Health and McLaughlin, 1996). On the other hand, there were exceptions: In a few schools, community school programs have been used to encourage parents to see schools as family-friendly places. Extended day classes that respond to parents' needs (e.g., sewing, GED preparation, domestic violence prevention, exercise and health classes) have helped parents connect with other parents and with service providers.

In West Philadelphia, for example, community school programs at Turner and Shaw Middle Schools have helped launch impressive health campaigns, beautification projects and economic development initiatives. These indicate that productive programs do not require new buildings. On the other hand, in Washington Heights, New York, over 1200 parents are involved in Intermediate School 218, newly constructed and designed as a year-long community school.

The school-based youth services program in New Jersey, which we mentioned earlier, is another notable exception. Imagine a school with a room where students can find not only recreational equipment and activities but job counselors, youth mentors and family outreach workers as well. Youth are encouraged to use the room and its resources throughout the day, including between classes. This innovative integration reflects the natural interdependence of health and leisure activities with social and economic support. This model is both a service strategy and a community school initiative, although it is not described as such. Unlike many community school programs, this one has been evaluated, and evidence in support of its beneficial effects upon children and youth is impressive (Tetleman, 1996). On the other hand, in the schools we visited, there was little evidence of its integration with school reform; "real school" often remained the same.

The school-based youth centers in the Kentucky Educational Reform Plan blend elements of community schooling with school-linked services. We have visited some of these sites and have found considerable variability in thought and practice. Real school tends not to change.

We have described elsewhere (Briar-Lawson, Lawson, et. al., in press) our successes with a special summer school program in Cincinnati. Supported by a community schools grant received from the Readers Digest-DeWitt-Wallace Foundation and the University of Pennsylvania, we joined with teachers, service providers, a school principal and a child-family paraprofessional to plan a different summer school experience for 21 eighth graders. All of these adolescents faced the prospects of another year in the eighth grade. Many also had failed previous grade levels. Two were teen parents, and two others had active records with the juvenile court. Mindful that regular school had not served these young people, we combined relevant elements of community schools and integrated approaches to school reform. For example, after-class enrichment activities (e.g., field trips, special celebrations) and tutorials were integrated with new classroom-based partnerships, practices and norms. Two teachers, the child-family paraprofessional and a student service provider formed a team; all were in, or near, the classroom.

School began at 9:30 A.M. and ended by 2:30 P.M. each day. Each youth was asked about their aspirations, and some of the learning activities and enrichment experiences responded to these aspirations. The paraprofessional involved the parents in learning and aspiration contracts. She and the student service provider were always on site to help with teaching-learning barriers.

In other words, they offered simultaneous supports for youth and the teachers. The teachers personalized and accelerated the instruction, exhibiting norms of high expectations and advocacy. Most of the students completed service/learning activities in the community, and they received a small stipend for their work. In six short weeks, 16 students learned enough to pass the eighth grade proficiency tests; within the next three weeks, the other 5 followed suit. All gained promotion to the ninth grade. Students used part of their stipends for community service learning to rent graduation gowns for a family-oriented celebration of their achievements.

Alexander and Entwisle (1996) also emphasize the value of summer school experiences for the learning and academic achievement of vulnerable children and youth. Their data indicate that predicted differences between vulnerable versus more affluent children and youth are minimized when summer school experiences are provided. Take away the summer opportunities, and academic achievement differences between economic "haves" and "have nots" increase progressively by age and grade level.

Although more research is needed, the initial findings support the rationale for community school programs in urban and rural areas heavily impacted by poverty and unemployment. If schools and the few remaining neighborhood organizations do not attend to the health and recreational needs of children, youth, and their families, school performance and experience suffer.

5) Are the change strategies top-down, bottom-up and/or sideways?

We met one middle school principal in a large midwestern city who was notified by the superintendent that fourteen service providers were going to be co-located at her school. This principal had not been consulted at any time during the planning process. The superintendent helped make the decision; he was involved in meetings with a group of chief executive officers from the service agencies. They had met for several months, pursuing more effective ways to deliver services through what they called "collaboration." They selected the middle school, not because they envisioned a closely knit integration with school reform activities, but because the school offered a convenient location for the people targeted for service delivery. In other words, from the outset the intent was to respond to mandates given to heads of service agencies to become more efficient and effective in service delivery, to engage in "systems change." Service providers were co-located at the school merely to pilot new service delivery strategies. Integration was not envisioned during the early planning; neither the principal nor the teachers were consulted about ways in which the service providers might support their efforts. Four years later, integration still has not occurred, and the pilot project is slated to be terminated. Thus far, only limited changes have occurred in "real school" or in "real service delivery."

This case is not unusual. Top-down change mandates appear to be on the increase across the nation. Many initiatives are the result of decisions made by heads of schools, community and state agencies, governmental officials and policymakers.

The growing number of top-down demands stemming from school reform alone felt overwhelming and frustrating to many teachers. "This year's new thing" was a favorite phrase among teachers across the nation. Front-line practitioners, including teachers, other school professionals and service providers, talked about and showed signs of work stress and fatigue.

Many principals told us that they needed help to become more enfranchising and democratic leaders. They feel caught because their interactions with district offices and school board officials continue to feel "top down" and compliance-oriented.

Front-line practitioners in the social and health services explained that rules and regulations imposed upon them have negative effects on their work with children, youth and families (see also Gaston and Brown, 1995). Some principals, teachers and service providers described their achievements as occurring in spite of official rules and policies.

Teachers and school leaders expressed gratitude about well-intentioned initiatives such as Caring Communities in Missouri, Healthy Start in California and school-based youth centers in Kentucky. (Statewide initiatives also are underway in Delaware, Florida, South Carolina, Minnesota and Washington.) During our site visits, teachers told us inspiring success stories resulting from new classroom-based involvement by parents, service providers and community leaders (see also Gaston and Brown, 1995). But their gratitude was mixed with concerns over their exclusion from the planning, implementation and evaluation of these initiatives. This exclusion was especially marked for classroom teachers. Unfortunately, reform initiatives have not started with these teachers and their successes.

Most of these top-down change initiatives do not allow enough lead time, nor do they provide appropriate resources and technical assistance. Shared understanding usually is not widespread among parents, teachers, service providers and others expected to implement the changes. Policies, norms, values and practices across and within school communities are often inconsistent and even contradictory. The results are predictable. Service providers and educators are not just unconnected; they often are "at war" with each other (see also Crowson and Boyd, 1993).

It is easy to blame the front-line practitioners and neglect the fact that change is learning. The learning and developmental needs of the adults involved in such complex change initiatives need to be taken into account if initiatives are to proceed beyond merely co-locating service providers at schools. Because co-location alone is unlikely to improve children's and schools' performance, initiatives that get stuck because they are not supported with technical assistance may jeopardize future investment. Impatient policymakers may assume too quickly that adding more people and resources doesn't make any difference to children, educators and schools.

Front-line practitioners (e.g., teachers and service providers) and middle managers (e.g., principals and agency supervisors) bear the brunt of this problem. They are told that they need improved outcomes in a hurry. They also hear that they need to seek grants and other resources because the funding for their innovative work is short-term, often only three years.

Top-down change initiatives often promise to bring "systems change" and "integrated, comprehensive services." How would you know systems change or integrated, comprehensive services if you saw them? This is the question we asked during our site visits and interviews. We ask it again here. The vast majority of the people we interviewed are unable to define these buzzwords. Nevertheless, leaders feel pressured because these buzzwords are used by their chief executive officers, and the same language may be in their written mandates. In one case, a leader of a large, school-based collaborative was asked to resign because this person was, according to the supervisors, providing too many direct services and not directing attention to systems change.

In short, buzzwords like "systems change" and "integrated, comprehensive services" are not especially helpful in the initial implementation of change initiatives. Clear, simple goals—such as developing good working partnerships, improving referral procedures, developing a single point of entry and universal intake forms, and agreeing on shared approaches to confidentiality—help everyone involved participate in planning, experience success and gain momentum (see also Carreon and Jameson, 1993; Rome, 1995).

6) What kinds of interactions occur among teachers, parents, service providers and community school staff? Among principals, community leaders and service administrators? Between superintendents and agency heads?

In some of our initial interviews, people told us what they knew we wanted to hear about how well integrated educators and service providers were. Later, in private conversations or during the course of our observations, we heard about and saw the conflicts. We describe some of the relationships we observed between educators and service providers as "cold wars" in which both groups try to maintain a "peaceful co-existence." Like Crowson and Boyd (1993), we observed and heard about turf protectionism, state legal and procedural restrictions, interorganizational conflicts, organizational disincentives (e.g., nonaccountability) and the absence of mutual trust (see also Rome, 1995).

The majority of service providers viewed themselves as responsive to agencies, children and their families. Only rarely did we hear providers say they were, or wanted to become, teacher-responsive. This is unfortunate because solid communication and referral patterns with teachers can be a vital link between school reform and school-linked services.

Teachers rarely play lead roles in child study and intervention team (teaming is a common practice in some school reform plans, such as The School Development Program and Success for All). When social-health service teams talk about case management and lead case managers for school-linked services, they are describing roles for professionals other than teachers—in most cases, they don't mean parents, either (Gaston and Brown, 1995; Golan, Wagner, Shaver, Wechsler, and Williamson, 1996; Shaver, Golan, and Wagner, 1996; Wagner, Newman, and Golan, 1996).

Initiatives to integrate school reform, school-linked services, parental involvement and community school, on the other hand, often involve the creation of flexible teams that function as foci for problem solving and learning. Leadership is increasingly delegated to, and assumed by, these planning teams. Schools and service agencies alike become less vertical and more horizontal in their organizational structures. In these "flatter" organizations, decision-making becomes more participatory-democratic, closer to the sites where the need or problem occurs. It is most evident in some charter schools and schools that are advanced in their work with site-based management teams.

Borrowing from the language of Accelerated Schools, planning teams "take stock" of current assets, needs, problems and opportunities. The challenges are more formidable in school-community planning, however, as the lens shifts from telephoto (the school alone) to wide-angle (the entire school community). This work involves competing personal, group and institutional interests, and it often is fraught with conflict (e.g., Corbett, Wilson, and Webb, 1996; Crowson and Boyd, 1996; Hecknan, Scull, and Conley, 1996; McClure, Jones, and Potter, 1996). This work demands special leadership skills, but few technical assistance and capacity-building initiatives have been launched in response to this need.

Superintendents and other key district officials such as school board heads often are not as knowledgeable about, and involved in, school-linked service and community school initiatives as they need to be. Superintendents recognize the increasing political demands that complex change initiatives bring to their professional lives (Herrington, 1996).

7) Are integrated change initiatives moving from their status as pilot projects to essential aspects of the organization?

Complex changes like these are fragile, indeed. They require many interacting levels of intervention and improvement (e.g., Crowson and Boyd, 1996; Gardner, 1996; Lawson, 1996). It is easy to give up. A few key leaders often are essential to the change process and, if they leave, the process stops.

We witnessed an example of this in an elementary school in New York City. When one or two key people left—in this case the principal and a foundation officer working closely with the school—others followed and the change initiatives receded. The same thing happened at an accelerated elementary school we visited in Sacramento, California; when the principal left, others followed, and a change initiative stalled (Levin, 1995).

Sustained commitment and involvement by top-level officials is a key component in stabilizing and institutionalizing changes in these school communities (Adelman, 1996; Moore, 1992). This also protects investments when principals and other key leaders resign, or are replaced.

Change is expensive. It costs time, effort and dollars. As if all of the other requirements were not enough, school community leaders—especially principals, heads of service collaboratives and lead teachers—are working overtime to write grant proposals. All need help in preparing for the challenges of block grants. This is a task for which most are unprepared.

Welfare reform poses even more challenges. All stakeholders need capacity-building initiatives aimed at helping them gain new funding resources. We will return to this issue later, emphasizing how school communities can gain valuable parent resources and talents while responding to employment requirements associated with welfare reform.

8) How are sites evaluating their work? Do they share accountability for the same outcomes?

We have not yet found a school community in which the participants, including parents, service providers and educators, have accomplished all of the following:

- Identified shared, measurable goals that each accepts as his or her own
- Agreed to share responsibility and accountability for the progress they make in relation to these goals (i.e., the social worker feels in part responsible for the teacher's success with the child's learning; the teacher feels in part responsible for the public health worker's success with child and family health)
- Agreed to chart progress and results
- Agreed to make ongoing adjustments in their work based on progress charting, especially feedback they solicit and receive from children, youth, and families
- Unselfishly shared all relevant human and economic resources
- Effected permanent policy changes that support new work practices and working relationships.

Why are these important? Because these are the guideposts for true collaboration. They indicate interprofessional and interorganizational interdependence. When all of these defining elements are not present, talk about collaboration is deceptive because, in reality, coordination and cooperation are evidenced. These coordinative and cooperative ventures are a developmental phase in moving toward collaboration; we do not fault leaders who are at this phase. Our point is to remind leaders that the preferred destination is collaborative work practices and organizational partnerships as defined by these key characteristics. When they are in evidence, integration is occurring and improved results for all are most likely.

The next question, of course, is, "Are we getting improved results?" Simply put, we need to know what works and what doesn't. Our own work with complex change initiatives, our reading (e.g., Knapp, 1995; Weiss, 1995) and our interactions with lead evaluators reveal how little we all know about the changes underway in lighthouse school communities.

Evaluating the integration of school change initiatives requires another set of major changes—namely, in the ways we conceptualize, implement and use evaluation (see also Knapp, 1995). The need for transformation of the evaluation process exists at every point in the process, from charting outcomes for individual students in the classroom to assessments at the state and national levels.

At the classroom and school levels, many professionals view collaboration as the end result of their work, and this is one reason why they are not charting results for children, youth and families. For school leaders, vicious funding cycles often lead to pro-forma evaluations aimed primarily at securing grant renewals.

Despite these problems, conventional, quantitative evaluations have been completed and have yielded outcome data. Unfortunately, these evaluations usually do not provide explanations and attributions. Quantitative evaluations are important, but we also need qualitative descriptions of the change process and accompanying results for children, youth and families. Until we build into change initiatives "thick descriptions" of services, school contexts, parents' roles and other key aspects, we will continue to encounter difficulties in explaining either promising or disappointing results.

New approaches to evaluation are needed, especially ones that are based on the principles of widespread participation and empowerment (e.g., Brown, 1995; Cousins and Earl, 1995; Fetterman, Kaftarian, and Wandersman, 1996; Lawson, work in progress). In fact, all evaluations need to take into account the "theory of change" that guides the initiative. Weiss (1995) develops a compelling argument for what she calls "theory-based evaluation." Change initiatives are based upon explicit, or often implicit, ideas about how and why they will work. Ideally, theory-based evaluations will allow informed decisions about change initiatives and programs at the front end. In other words, we can make reasoned judgments about a theory of change and its assumptions before we invest time, money and human resources in it. This is a way to "feed-forward" information. In addition to improving efficiency and effectiveness, the quest for this kind of information is an ethical-moral imperative.

After all, these change initiatives are supposed to yield improvements in people's lives. We need to know if they do, and, if so, when, why and under what circumstances. Embedded evaluations that yield knowledge about, and for, these improvements will help others learn. This learning will enable replications and extensions of warranted change initiatives elsewhere.

Footnotes

6. This is, of course, the heart of school reform. Especially in middle schools and high schools, concerns for subject matter mastery may be more important in practice than concerns for children. We will return to this issue later in the monograph.

7. A new version of a training manual for parent paraprofessionals (Katharine Briar-Lawson, first author) is available from the Institute for Educational Renewal, the distributors of this monograph.

Add-On Models

We have developed five models that provide a frame work for analyzing and categorizing the extent to which the four change initiatives are integrated. We identify these models in Table 1 (on the following page). Some of our questions and lessons learned helped us develop these models. We have summarized these questions and lessons learned in Appendix B.

We believe that these models shed light on findings from recent evaluation studies and may facilitate future approaches to evaluation (e.g., Gardner, 1996; Knapp, 1995; US Department of Education, 1996; Weiss, 1995). In addition, our models help determine whether partnerships are merely cooperative or deeply collaborative (e.g., Crowson and Boyd, 1996; Franklin and Streeter, 1996; Gardner, 1996).

1) Community School Programs for Youth

We described earlier the innovative School-Based, Youth Services Program in New Jersey. This program provides recreational experiences for children and youth in the after school hours. Service providers are co-located near recreational centers, and youth can get help on their own terms. Impressive data support the effectiveness of these programs in preventing teen pregnancy, substance abuse, and delinquency (Tetleman, 1996). Like many service initiatives, this is an add-on model. It was not originally designed to change "real school."

On the other hand, the beneficial results associated with this innovative program merit attention and replication. Our strategies for family-supportive community schools, which we share later, include elements of the School-Based, Youth Services Program.

2) Coordinated Services to Fix At-Risk Students

In our second model, which we call Coordinated Services to Fix At-Risk Students, school-linked services are offered only for selected students who are targeted. There is an implicit assumption that real school and service delivery need not change. Planning centers on coordinating children's services and linking them to schools. Service providers remain in the community, are co-located at schools, or both. In all cases, linkages between schools and community service agencies are developed. In some cases, services are offered through school-based youth centers (e.g., Kentucky).

Typically, in this model, service providers do not develop close working relationships with teachers, nor will teachers be knowledgeable about, or directly involved with, service providers. Once teachers have identified students' needs for services and initiated referrals, their responsibilities end. Then it is back to business-as-usual in the classroom. In fact, when children return to classrooms, teachers' views and treatment of them often do not change. Teachers' needs for direct involvement in planning and for preparation for collaborative work practices involving parents and service providers are not recognized and met.

Service providers and educators are more likely to talk about "students" and the sister term "clients" as opposed to "children, youth and families." This is particularly true in schools where teachers are challenged by new requirements, particularly including former special education children and youth in their regular classrooms. It also is likely when teachers are unprepared for the changing characteristics of their children, especially racial, ethnic, class-related and cultural differences.

In this model, the professionals (i.e., service providers and educators)assume that they know best what children need to succeed in school. Service providers often determine independently the appropriate service strategy; then they deliver it. Their strategy tends to be school- and child-centered.

Typically, this is a one-generation change strategy because it focuses upon the child, neglecting the parent and family. This strategy involves special targeting and referral procedures for so-called at-risk students. Risk assessment criteria and procedures remain under-developed. Children may be needlessly labeled and stigmatized in the process. Although service providers have been co-located at and linked to schools, in actuality their service delivery strategies have not changed. In other words, neither service providers nor teachers change appreciably, even though they may work at the same sites with the same children and youth.

Improved academic achievement is a highly-prized outcome. All too frequently, there are unrealistic expectations for immediate improvements in standardized test scores. Clearly, without plans for changing real school, and absent

TABLE 1: Key Differences Among Five School-Based and -Linked Service and Support Models

Purpose(s)	Orientation and Strategy	Teacher's Role	School's Reforms	Outcome Measures
PROTOTYPE: School-Based Youth Services and Community School Programs (Examples: Youth services programs and centers; extended day and year programs.)				
Meet needs of children and youth during the non-school hours; address and prevent personal-social problems; perhaps provide educational enrichment experiences.	One-generation: Child-centered; school-centered; crisis-responsive; preventive; perhaps peer-led and -mediated.	Perhaps teach classes and supervise experiences in after-school, weekend, and Summer programs; confer with service providers.	Open a school-based, youth center; keep facilities open when regular school day ends; share legal responsibilities for safety and security; no changes in "real school."	Reductions in personal-social problems; number of students served; occasionally academic achievement in school.
PROTOTYPE: Coordinated Services for Children and Youth (Examples: Most student-centered, co-located services called "coordinated," or "new partnerships.")				
Meet needs of children in school, especially students considered "at risk" by providing psychological-behavioral services; improve academic achievement and overall success in school.	One-generation: Child-centered; school-centered; crisis-responsive; early intervention; parent involvement initiatives.	Identify, refer needy and problem students to social and health service providers; consult with child study and intervention teams.	Develop links to social, health service agencies, perhaps changing school facilities to accommodate service providers; no changes in "real school."	Students' academic achievement; number of students served; perhaps reductions in personal-social problems.
PROTOTYPE: Comprehensive, Integrated Services for Children, Youth and Families (Examples: School-linked services programs that are proceeding beyond co-location; they are changing the rules, sharing resources, developing shared goals and accountability structures and serving families.)				
Improve academic achievement and overall success in school; meet needs of parents as well as children, youth; improve services and social supports for families.	Hybrid (Transition from one- to two-generation strategies); school-centered; crisis-responsive, early intervention and prevention; parent involvement initiatives.	Detection of child and parent needs for services and supports; refer students to social and health service providers; consult with child study and intervention teams; receive information about the student's parents and family.	Develop links with social and health service providers, co-locating some at school; through service providers, develop new links with parents and families; perhaps open a family resource center at school; no changes in "real school."	Students' academic achievement; number of students and families receiving services and social supports; oftentimes reductions in personal-social problems of students and parents.
PROTOTYPE: The Enabling Component in Educational Restructuring (Examples: Several charter schools and school families in California; school districts with comprehensive reform plans in several states.)				
Integrate school-owned and community-agency owned programs and services to maximize students' learning by identifying and removing barriers to learning and healthy development; stimulate and advance policy changes that improve responsiveness of all related child- and family-related organizations.	Two-generation: School-, student-, family-, and community-centered; crisis-responsive, early intervention and prevention; support parents and families and plan for economic enhancement of persons living in poverty; public health protection, promotion and maintenance, early-schooling targeted interventions.	Learn how to organize classrooms and implement personalized instruction in ways that better address needs of students with mild-moderate learning and behavior problems; participate in school-wide steering and development of comprehensive planning related to six enabling activity areas; build new collaborative relationships with other staff, families and community members.	Complement two other components of restructuring (Instruction, Management) and explore organizational and operational infrastructures in schools, including policy and rules changes, budget allocations, leadership, staff development, etc.	In rank order, beginning with the most important: Implementation of 6 areas of the Enabling Component; reductions in student problems and improvements in students' functioning; increased involvement of families with student's learning; reduced costs for special education; enhanced academic achievement.
PROTOTYPE: Family-Supportive Community Schools (Examples: In addition to some of the same schools listed in the Enabling Component, comprehensive community schools in New York City, Miami Beach, Florida and San Fernando, California.)				
Improve the learning, development and well-being of children, youth and families; improve services, social supports and occupational-economic resources for families and adult residents; improve local neighborhood-communities; stimulate and advance policy changes that improve responsiveness of all related child- and family-related organizations.	Two-generation: School-centered, child-focused, family-centered, and community-centered; crisis-responsive, early intervention, prevention, and promotion of well-being; parent empowerment and family support, including prenatal and early childhood programs integrated, community development initiatives.	Form classroom-based partnerships with parents and other helpers; work with helpers to address and remove barriers to learning, healthy development; take lead responsibilities for instructional design and authentic assessment, delegating responsibilities to helpers; refer children and youth to service providers as needed.	Cultural and structural changes anchored in classrooms affect the entire school and its community; develop collaborative leadership and decision-making structures; develop links with social and health service providers, early childhood education and prenatal programs; restructure roles of pupil support professionals; paraprofessional roles for parents and other adults are developed; employ youth mentors for children; offer community school programs; parent-run, family resource center at school; community consortium is formed.	Children's learning and healthy development; reductions in personal-social problems of children and parents; indices of child-family health and well-being; characteristics of local neighborhood-communities; long-term results of occupational development and employment initiatives on children, youth and families.

a broader understanding of child and family learning, development, support and resource needs, immediate improvements are highly improbable. If these improvements are the only evaluative criterion, potentially helpful services will not be sustained because policy makers will be persuaded that they do not make a difference in the lives of children. They will not appreciate that initial concerns for coordinated services children can quickly be expanded to include families; and later, integration into real school.

3) Co-Location and Linkages to Offer Integrated, Comprehensive Services for Children, Youth and Families

This third model is a variation upon the second. Two differences are apparent during site visits and interviews.

The first difference: Concern for parents and families is added to services for individual children and youth. Once parents and families are included, there are potential opportunities to connect school-linked services, school reform and parent involvement. When planning expands in this way, the possibility emerges to stop viewing schools as stand-alone organizations and begin planning for school communities. Not every school is ready for this expanded view of educational reform and the integration of now-separate initiatives, however.

The second difference: a parent or family center may be added at the school.[8] When this happens, we can observe the beginnings of a two-generation change strategy aimed at both the student and the parent(s).

Little else changes. Professionals still "call all the shots," and services are for "at-risk" parents and families, not everyone. Significant changes in real school and real service delivery usually do not occur.

Improvements in students' academic achievement also tend to be prioritized in this model. Because it does not change real school or entail integrating now-separate change initiatives, this evaluative criterion also poses problems in this third model.

Strengths and Limitations of Add-On Models

Several important evaluation studies have been conducted in the last few years on the relationship between school-linked services and school reform (e.g., Barbour and Barbour, 1997; Crowson and Boyd, 1993; 1996; Gaston and Brown, 1995; Golan, Wagner, Shaver, Wechsler, and Williamson, 1996; Wagner, 1995; Wagner, Newman, and Golan, 1996). These studies present findings that dovetail with the emergent literature on potential benefits, pitfalls and future challenges of school-linked services (e.g., Adelman, in press; Adler and Gardner, 1994; Bruner, 1996; Corrigan and Udas, 1996; Cibulka and Kritek, 1996; Dryfoos, 1994; Franklin and Streeter, 1996; Gardner, 1996; Hoover and Achilles, 1996; Rigsby, Reyolds, and Wang, 1995; Stallings, 1995; US. Department of Education, 1996). Our findings support, amend, and extend theirs.

Our observations and the available data suggest that add-on models have benefits. For example, an increasing number of children, youth and families are getting additional services, indicating that school-linked and community school models improve access to conventional assistance. There is very little information, however, about the quality of these services and even less about all of their impacts upon children, youth and families.

We know that academic achievement gains are barely evident in schools with these two models; usually these gains are in the early elementary years. Significant academic improvement is not realized for the following reasons:

- In these two models, "real school" does not change, in part because teachers are not directly and intimately involved in services.
- There are few guarantees that the quality of the services has improved.
- Improvements in academic achievement takes years, not a year or a few months.
- Measures of academic achievement are imperfect and perhaps inappropriate; improvement in learning assessed through authentic assessment methodologies, and healthy development are a more appropriate criteria.

We saw little evidence of teachers and service providers working together closely. This finding corresponds with the related work of Gaston and Brown, (1995). The more specific the question (e.g., how to schedule the day, how to relate to a specific student's difficulties) the less cohesion existed among teachers, service providers, parents and school staff. As Gaston and Brown (p. 13) note, it is easier to agree on axioms that frame general direction and gross behavior than to adhere to agreements about discrete behaviors within professional communities.

Racial, ethnic and cultural understanding, competence and responsiveness have posed problems for many public schools, and they do not disappear with the arrival of school-linked services and/or community school programs (e.g., Banks, 1993; Garcia, 1993; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Lipman, 1997; Ogbu, 1995a and b). We heard from service providers and educators alike that some teachers continue to equate cultural difference with a learning disability and service need. In school after school, we met teachers who doubted whether all children can learn.[9] These teachers prefer familiar patterns in coping with challenging children—"pull-outs" for special education and "push-outs" for tutoring and disciplinary actions. In these teachers' eyes, service providers are there to address children's problems outside the classroom. Many teachers do not view their own practices and classrooms as contributing to children's problems. This hampers shared accountability for results and collaborative practices. It places the burdens of needed changes on others instead of advancing the idea that "we are all in the same boat." And it stalls needed professional development and support strategies that can help teachers, children and families—simultaneously.

Principals also need supports. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of research on school principals and superintendents involved with these complex changes. What research does exist reveals a pattern which indicates to us that it has been conducted at sites where add-on or co-location models are operating. In several studies, the principals talk about the value of school-linked services (e.g., Greenspan, Seeley, and Niemeyer, 1993; Herrington, 1996; Hoover and Achilles, 1996), and they often know more about services than teachers (e.g., Gaston and Brown, 1995). The principals interviewed by Herrington (1996), however, did not claim much knowledge about new service providers; they indicated that their jobs had not changed appreciably.

Herrington also interviewed five superintendents who acknowledged that the political requirements associated with their jobs were increasing. Otherwise, they said their jobs were the same. Herrington (1996, p. 218) is not alone in suggesting that "parallel versus integrated programming may avoid some jurisdictional problems in more tightly coupled programming." In other words, some school communities may choose to maintain add-on models; if they do, there is little reason to be(come) concerned about preparation and supports for principals and superintendents.

The mere fact that principals and superintendents do not perceive major changes in their roles and responsibilities points toward co-location and loose affiliations among schools and community organizations. In other words, in model 1, 2 or 3 settings, role changes are minimal. If integration is prized, then the available research is an expression of the need for appropriate preservice and professional development programs for principals and superintendents.

We heard about, and observed, our share of "turf and resource wars." At the same time that service providers are worried about becoming overly "edu-centric," educators are worried that already-scarce dollars will be deflected from academic tasks and reallocated to support school-linked services.

Policy challenges remain. Few schools have been prepared for the reality that 75-90 percent of services are available to children and families only after a crisis has occurred—for example, only after the child is psychotic or suicidal, the abuse has occurred or the assault has been committed. Few service providers, when relocated at the school, are free to design "whatever it takes" services. Consider this example and the needs it manifests: At least one-third of the children in one of the schools we visited had witnessed a violent death, and many of these deaths involved associates or family members. Yet, only 10 percent of these children and their families gained access to trauma and bereavement support services.

However, as soon as we envision more expansive planning, a new problem emerges: there will never be enough social and health service providers to address all of the learning and developmental barriers children bring to school. Last, but not least, conventional services are important but insufficient in all cases. Expanded thinking about school communities, families and new school-linked service models is especially important when children, youth and their families are challenged by poverty. As Schorr notes, you can't service your way out of poverty (quoted in Weiss, 1995). Clearly, conventional services are necessary for such children and families. But so are supports (e.g., neighborhood resource exchange networks, parent support groups, child care) and resources (e.g., transportation assistance, medical assistance, easy access to a washer and dryer). Once resources and supports are introduced, service providers and educators need access to "flex dollars" and resources that can be tailored to individual needs of children, youth and their families. As this occurs, school community leaders begin to see needs for widespread community participation beyond that which educators and service professionals alone can provide.

Toward Integrative Models

Thus far we have sketched three models that are not well integrated. We now turn to the other two models identified in Table 1. Neither attempts to substitute for, or replace, existing approaches to improving instruction and management; both expand and amend existing approaches, retaining their strengths. Both offer missing pieces for the puzzles of educational reform. However, the picture each provides on the top of the puzzle box differ.

We do not view these last two models as mutually exclusive or necessarily competing. In fact, our fifth model represents our first attempt at merging the two models.

Both models address the related support needs of teachers and children. We begin with a case example comprised of two scenarios, which illustrates some of the identical thinking beneath the two models.

FIRST SCENARIO

A teacher is confronted repeatedly by a child she has come to view as a "problem student." The child commands attention and repeatedly disrupts the class. This teacher experiences the usual amount of anger and frustration. The mere fact that service providers are on site, however, provides a new opportunity to refer the child for help. The teacher feels better because the referral is made. But when the child returns, some of the same problems surface. The teacher begins to doubt whether she can help the child; whether the child can learn; and whether the child should even remain in her class.

SECOND SCENARIO

This same teacher has been prepared to identify learning barriers and health risk factors (e.g., malnutrition, lack of sleep, substance abuse). She knows that she has help on call at school. Rather than having to address unmet needs by herself, in essence having to do social work and health education in addition to teaching, child and family support teams assume these responsibilities. She refers the child, working closely with the team and the parent(s). This referral process stems from and generates empathy for the student and, in turn, the family. The child returns to class, having been helped by the service provider, parents and sometimes peers. The teacher knows that the child has been helped and is prepared to work differently, as needed, with the child. The child behaves better and tries harder. The child begins to experience the teacher and schooling differently. No longer at odds with each other, the teacher and child interact in more positive and beneficial ways. Parents are partners in this developing relationship. The child's academic achievement and social functioning improve along with this teacher's sense of efficacy. Good things can and do happen for children and teachers.

In reality, there is often a transition phase between the first and second scenarios. In this transition phase, teachers learn that service providers and paraprofessional parents can be important helpers for them as well as children. Teachers begin to appreciate the children (and their parents) more as all are supported. The quality of their interactions improves, and as it does, children's learning and teachers' job satisfaction and overall sense of well-being improve, too.

Many of the school communities we have visited are currently in this transition. They now face a systems design challenge. How can they go to scale with an approach to that helps teachers, parents, principals, service providers and children—simultaneously? Specifically, how can they plan for mutually-beneficial support and instructional strategies that simultaneously help teachers, children and parents alike? What will teachers need to know and do differently? Parents? Principals? Service providers? Existing school support professionals? Both models address these related questions, making now-essential links to teachers and classrooms and changing real school. We begin with the Enabling Component.

Footnotes

8. We have learned that it is important to ask this question: Who "owns" and "runs" these centers? We believe that parent and family centers ought to be owned and run by parents.

9. The teaching force is predominantly Caucasian. We also heard doubts expressed by ethnic minority teachers, however. This suggests that poverty and other challenges of socially toxic environments are as important as the race and ethnicity of teachers and children (see Lipman, 1997).

Model 4

The Enabling Component

When school-linked services are defined as the solution, and service providers are co-located at the school, there is a tendency to ignore, even offend, school and pupil support professionals already working at the school site. The school social workers, nurses, counselors, visiting teachers, and psychologists are a valuable resource. School districts already have made significant investments in them; almost a third of a school's personnel budget may be allocated for these professionals. Thus, when well-intentioned advocates for systems change suggest that school-linked services are the answers to all of a school's challenges, they create problems of a different magnitude.

Several barriers to the integration of school-linked services and school reform stem from tendencies to over-look and devalue existing school support professionals. Many already do the work of some social and health service providers.

For example, Albert Smith (1995) and his colleagues at the University of Washington and the Alliance for Excellence at California State University-Sacramento also have recognized this. They have developed together a case management model in which school counselors play lead roles in mobilizing social and health service providers, and helping children and families. An innovative computer software package supports this work.

However, the most comprehensive approach to restructuring student services as an integral part of school improvement and restructuring is found in the work of Howard Adelman and Linda Taylor. We will not duplicate their work here. We explore their model next with two purposes in mind: (1) To encourage readers to learn more about this model; and (2) To pave the way for our last model, which has been informed by the work of Taylor and Adelman.

Adelman and Taylor begin with a now-established assumption: Children bring to school different learning styles as well as barriers to their academic achievement and healthy development. If we want to improve children's learning, healthy development and overall experiences in school, then we have to respond to different kinds of learners and remove barriers to all students' learning and healthy development.

Adelman and Taylor identify three categories of learners (see Figure 1 on the following page):

1) children who are motivationally ready and able
2) children who are not very motivated, lack prerequisite knowledge and skills, and/or whose learning rates and styles are not well served by traditional teaching methods
3) children who avoid learning, whose current capabilities are very deficient and/or who have a disability that affects their learning.

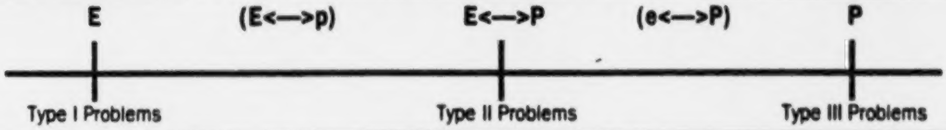
Children in categories 2 and 3 are those who challenge educators the most. These are the children who tend to be pulled out for special education or pushed out for remediation or even suspension. Adelman and Taylor, like many educators, have found that type 2 and 3 children are, in fact, able to learn in regular classrooms.

In Adelman and Taylor's view, most educational reform initiatives focus on instruction and management. If we are serious about confronting children's barriers, we need to add a third component: the Enabling Component (see Figure 2 on page 39). Their model provides an intervention strategy for removing children's learning and developmental barriers in the classroom, home and community. Professionals who are already on-site become key players on a school-based response and support team, called a resource team. Other members of the team are community service providers, teachers and parents.

The Enabling Component offers promise to teachers who are confronting the challenges of full inclusion in their classrooms. It is based on a continuum of intervention, stretching from prevention and early intervention through crisis-responsive strategies (see Table 2 on page 39). Key intervention points and strategies include:

- the classroom
- crisis assistance and prevention services
- support for transitions (such as changing schools, divorces, etc.)
- parental involvement at school
- student and family assistance (health and social services)
- community outreach and volunteers
- home supports for learning, healthy development and education.

FIGURE 1: Problems Catagorized on a Continuum Using a Transactional View of the Primary Locus of Cause



PROBLEMS CAUSED BY FACTORS IN THE ENVIRONMENT (E)	PROBLEMS CAUSED EQUALLY BY ENVIRONMENT AND PERSON	PROBLEMS CAUSED BY FACTORS IN THE PERSON (P)
• caused primarily by environments and systems that are deficient and/or hostile • problems are mild to moderately severe and narrow to moderately pervasive	• caused primarily by a significant mismatch between individual differences and vulnerabilities and the nature of that person's environment (not by a person's pathology) • problems are mild to moderately severe and pervasive	• caused primarily by person factors of a pathological nature • problems are moderate to profoundly severe and moderate to broadly pervasive

The enabling model calls for comprehensive planning to restructure existing school support programs in the following ways:

- Develop new connections with families and community agencies
- Find new ways to mobilize and coordinate resources, combining appropriately those that are school-owned and community agency-owned
- Build school-based teams of service providers, existing pupil support and student services professionals, teachers, principals, parents, community leaders and youth to help oversee and monitor resource coordination
- Provide technical assistance and capacity-building supports aimed at developing leadership in team members.

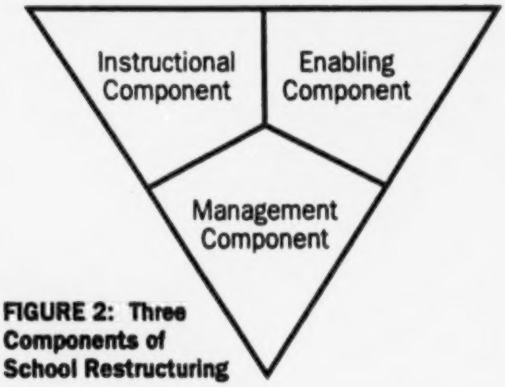


FIGURE 2: Three Components of School Restructuring

Last, but not least, this model calls for district-wide reculturing and restructuring policy changes. Adelman and Taylor (1996) have found that pervasive policy change, especially integrative, comprehensive policy change, continues to be assigned a low priority. Many school districts lack an appropriate unifying vision and need to be pushed by compelling campaigns of education and advocacy.

Needed policy changes for the Enabling Component include, but are not limited to:

- The preparation of leaders who are prepared and supported to oversee work that addresses and removes barriers to students' learning and healthy development. Leadership begins with a key person on the superintendent's staff and a resource coordinator at each school.
- The development of a supportive infrastructure among all of the stakeholders in children and schools. Policies that encourage the blending of school-owned and agency-owned resources are a high priority.
- The encouragement of prototype demonstrations with appropriate formative and summative evaluations.

This kind of policy work involves district officials and all stakeholders in the school community. It is indicative of a comprehensive approach to educational reform.

Adelman and Taylor suggest that we shift the planning frame from one school to clusters or "families" of schools. These clusters of schools are linked by location and, frequently, by feeder pattern. That is, children who attend one elementary school tend to move together to the same middle school and, later, to the same high school. In the same vein, families with more than one child tend to have children in two or more of these schools. To the extent that service providers are committed to family-centered practices, they need to be deployed in a way that allows them to serve all

TABLE 2: From Primary Prevention to Treatment of Serious Problems: A Continuum of Community-School Programs to Address Barriers to Learning and Enhance Healthy Development

INTERVENTION CONTINUUM	EXAMPLES OF FOCUS AND TYPES OF INTERVENTION (Programs and services aimed at system changes and individual needs)
Primary prevention	**1. Public health protection, promotion, and maintenance to foster opportunities, positive development, and wellness** • economic enhancement of those living in poverty (e.g., work/welfare programs) • safety (e.g., instruction, regulations, lead abatement programs) • physical and mental health (including healthy start initiatives, immunizations, dental care, substance abuse prevention, violence prevention, health/mental health education, sex education and family planning, recreation, social services to access basic living resources, and so forth)
Early-after-onset intervention	**2. Preschool-age support and assistance to enhance health and psychosocial development** • systems' enhancement through multidisciplinary team work, consultation, and staff development • education and social support for parents of preschoolers • quality day care • quality early education • appropriate screening and amelioration of physical and mental health and psychosocial problems
	3. Early-schooling targeted interventions • orientations, welcoming and transition support into school and community life for students and their families (especially immigrants) • support and guidance to ameliorate school adjustment problems • personalized instruction in the primary grades • additional support to address specific learning problems • parent involvement in problem solving • comprehensive and accessible psychosocial and physical and mental health programs (including a focus on community and home violence and other problems identified through community needs assessment)
	4. Improvement and augmentation of ongoing regular support • enhance systems through multidisciplinary team work, consultation, and staff development • preparation and support for school and life transitions • teaching "basics" of support and remediation to regular teachers (including use of available resource personnel, peer and volunteer support) • parent involvement in problem solving • resource support for parents-in-need (incl. assistance in finding work, legal aid, ESL and citizenship classes, and so forth) • comprehensive and accessible psychosocial and physical and mental health interventions (including health and physical education, recreation, violence reduction programs, and so forth) • academic guidance and assistance • emergency and crisis prevention and response mechanisms
	5. Other interventions prior to referral for intensive and ongoing targeted treatments • enhance systems through multidisciplinary team work, consultation, and staff development • short-term specialized interventions (including resource teacher instruction and family mobilization; programs for suicide prevention, pregnant minors, substance abusers, gang members, and other potential dropouts)
Treatment for severe/chronic problems	**6. Intensive treatments** • referral, triage, placement guidance and assistance, case management, and resource coordination • family preservation programs and services • special education and rehabilitation • dropout recovery and follow-up support • services for severe-chronic psychosocial/mental/physical health problems

of the children in a given family, not just one child at one of the schools.

This is a defining feature of this model and the one that follows. Once we acknowledge the necessity of supporting children through transitions in their lives and supporting whole families, the model of the single "lighthouse" school is too limited. Just as athletic teams have feeder systems, so must children, youth and families have a network of support that spans several schools and includes community agencies.

Model 5

Family-Supportive Community Schools

The Family-Supportive Community School model is nearly identical to the Enabling Component model in several ways. Both are intended to provide simultaneous supports for teachers, children, parents and families, other educators and service providers.

In other words, the two models are not competitors. Our appreciation of the enabling model will become apparent in the ensuing description.

The Family-Supportive Community Schools model brings a complementary perspective, including special strategies and different sensitizing concepts designed to help integrate the four change initiatives—school reform, parent involvement, school-linked services and community schools. It is a comprehensive framework that includes private as well as public sector partnerships. It supports and strengthens families and their local neighborhood-communities. It is designed to respond to support and resource needs in schools and community service agencies.

The title for this model is ours. We coined it after our site visits to school communities where we saw exciting examples of integrated projects and interactions; these hinted at a possible model. For example:

- We observed teacher-responsive services in a few schools, usually smaller elementary schools. Here, teachers praised service providers and their assistance to children and parents. When we asked an elementary school teacher in Sacramento, California, what she would have done without service providers, she said, "I would have had a heart attack by now, and I might be dead."
- We visited one school where the principal and teachers were dissatisfied with the number of children being referred for testing for special education. Rather than tolerating the high rates of referral, they formed a child study team that planned for tailored supports for each child and her or his family. One adult in the school serves as the lead case manager and follows through to insure that services are acquired. The rate of referrals for special education testing has dropped so significantly that the school psychologist has been redeployed; this person now does less special education assessment and more child and family support work.
- At the Feinberg-Fisher Elementary School in Miami Beach, Florida, we heard about a team of teachers who decided to call themselves "ombudsmen." These teachers see themselves as special advocates for children and partners with the parents. Parent paraprofessionals help teachers, other educators and the social and health service providers located at the school site. Working alongside the parents has helped these teachers understand them and their children. As one teacher said, "When we see the needs that a child and family have, it helps us be more open and understanding in the classroom. When we see improvements in the child, it helps us intensify our efforts to help with their academic success." Once one of the most challenged schools in Dade County, this elementary school is now one of the top two Title 1 schools in the state. Test scores have increased significantly.
- At Intermediate School 218 in New York City, we observed youth learning business skills, earning money and developing occupational aspirations through a highly successful school-based store (microenterprise) that they run. This store generates over $40,000 per year.
- In several school communities, we observed paraprofessional employment programs for under- and unemployed parents. We saw first-hand the benefits that result for other parents, children, educators and social service providers when parents work in the school as paraprofessional educators and service providers.
- In several school communities, we observed parents helping educators and service providers develop shared visions, values, goals and accountability structures.
- In another school, twelve health and social service providers were re-located at the school. When their services were not utilized as expected, parents were asked why. Parents responded by saying that the services provided were not the ones they wanted. Parents wanted legal assistance, job counseling and occupational development, and domestic violence prevention; as these were added, parents became more involved in the school.

Other school communities that helped us see this new model also include the cluster of schools working with the Children's Aid Society of New York City, notably P.S. 5 in Washington Heights; The Elizabeth Street Learning Center in Los Angeles and others developing the Enabling Model; The O'Farrell Community School in San Diego; and the Vaughn Street Next Century Learning Center in San Fernando, California. We know that there are a growing number of others, including some of the Hogg Foundation Schools of the Next Century; Communities in Schools; schools working in partnership with Joyce Epstein, Don Davies, and their colleagues; some of the Comer schools; and Denver's Family Schools.

Introducing the Model

In a short monograph like this one, we cannot present a thorough description of Family-Supportive Community Schools, along with all of the reasoning and evidence in support of them. Our intent is provide enough information to help others with their work. Perhaps we can help them "leap-frog" over the barriers others have encountered.

In our earlier work (Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994), we suggested that educators and social service professionals should not substitute for parents and families. Before they focus on a child, they should ask the following questions: How can we develop partnerships with the parent(s) to address this child's need or challenge? How might we listen to and support the parents? When professionals regularly consider these questions, they are on their way to becoming more family-centered. As they begin to see reasons to work with parents and support families, their conceptions of parent involvement and children's family systems will deepen and expand.

Today, we know that the language of family-centered practice is one professional educators and service providers use. Family-centered practice benefits professionals and families. But strong, healthy families have social support and resource needs that professionals cannot meet alone. Other families, neighborhood associations, religious and cultural institutions, mutual aid and assistance networks, and private sector organizations all must respond to individual and family needs. This broader agenda is for family-support, and family-centered practice is one component. Educators and other professionals can play key roles when: (1) they understand family support; and, (2) they recognize that the aim of their work is to develop families' capacities to meet their own needs while supporting, and being supported by, other families and institutions.

The Family-Supportive Community School model is based on our understanding of what families want and need; and what makes democracy and civil society work. For example, meaningful employment for parents is one safeguard for strong families; and strong families are building blocks for safe, supportive neighborhood communities. Strong families enhance civic engagement and social trust networks. They also build vibrant voluntary associations. Schools contribute to the development of healthy children and strong families; and schools are among the chief beneficiaries. Children thrive when families are strong and supported, when social-cultural cohesion is high.[10]

Therefore, the Family-Supportive Community School model advances a two-generation change strategy: a focus on children is accompanied by equal attention to parents and families (see Table 1). If parents are to support and help the school, the school must reciprocate by supporting parents, families and others in the school community. In fact, in some instances a multi-generation strategy is required. For it is not uncommon to have a young mother and her child(ren) living with at least one parent and at least one grandparent. This is not always a matter of early or teen motherhood; in communities with high living costs and employment challenges, it is becoming an economic necessity.

This model assumes that the job of educating children involves the entire community. In addition to school leadership, it requires educational leadership. It encompasses a plan to link beneficial learning and healthy development in families and other community settings with learning and healthy development in schools and classrooms. It is a design that marks the beginning of the end of schools as stand-alone organizations in which individual teachers are asked to work alone, without needed supports. In this model, educators, service providers and other leaders collaborate to rebuild mutual support and assistance networks and find employment opportunities that are essential to child and family well-being.

We begin with ten strategies for Family Supportive-Community Schools. Then we present two sets of indices that can facilitate planning and evaluation: what we call indices of integration; and indices for the quality of treatment and interaction. Finally, we consider implications and policy changes.

Ten Strategies to Advance Family-Supportive Community Schools

What are the structural components of Family-Supportive Community Schools? We have identified ten strategies. For facility of analysis, we will consider them one at a time; in reality these strategies are interdependent. The integrative whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

Furthermore, these ten strategies are not rank-ordered. Each is equally important and essential. Our presentation of them here is based upon our understanding of our readers; most will be educators and other professionals interested in families and schools. With this in mind, we start with families, then move to the school-related strategies and then proceed to those pertaining the school community.

1) Parent empowerment and family support.

Parents, educators and service providers will become collaborative designers of children's learning, health and development; and professionals as well as community leaders will develop family-supportive networks.

Parents are the first educators and primary service providers for their children. In some cases, professionals have blamed parents for the condition and characteristics of their children. We have learned that parent-professional relationships like these serve neither children nor adults.

We have visited schools dedicated to becoming "family-centered" schools. These schools provide valuable insights into the ways in which new kinds of parent partnerships simultaneously improve results for individual children, parents, and entire families—and, strengthen local neighborhood-communities. Leaders in these schools plan for parent empowerment, not merely parent involvement (e.g., Alameda, 1996; Lawson and Briar-Lawson, 1997; Myers, Alvy, et. al., 1992; Trivette, Dunst, and Hamby, 1996;). They are staged to become family-supportive, community schools.

For example, in these family-supportive schools, parents feel invited to come and stay because family resource centers, which the parents run, have been established at the school. Experiences in these schools have taught us that many parents, like their children, have endured years of damaging labels, marginalization and poverty. Their gifts and expertise can be nurtured right along with their children's. Community school programs are important facilitators for this work. Family-supportive health, education, and recreation-leisure programs are offered on the school sites.

In fact, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's national model for comprehensive school health education, with appropriate modifications, can work within this community school framework (see also Gingiss, 1997). So can emergent approaches for exercise, sport and health promotion (e.g., Kimiecik and Lawson, 1996). In this framework health and social services, on or linked to school-sites, also become family-supportive and community-oriented. They can become integrated with children's learning in schools.

Family-supportive schools reveal the vast and almost limitless energy and advocacy that is possible when the full range of parent talent is nurtured and supported. Improvements result for parents (Alameda, 1996; Winters, 1993), children and schools. It is timely to build upon parent expertise and advance family-supportive practices. For families already challenged by poverty, welfare reform poses formidable challenges. This is also an opportunity to develop integrated action strategies that respond to parents' needs at the same time they help children and support educators. It requires connecting two separate discourses about eliminating poverty and engaging in educational reform (Engvall, 1996).

2) Paraprofessional jobs and career ladders for parents.

Previously unemployed and volunteer parents will be provided job-related supports and career-ladder opportunities in schools and social and health service agencies.

Unemployment, poverty, and high mobility-dislocation rates are three key predictors of family related problems; these same factors predict child abuse, including needs for child protection services and out-of-home placements. Children's learning barriers, developmental difficulties and health risks also stem from these problems (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995). In brief, these needs and problems of children and youth are nested in those of their parents, families, and local neighborhood communities.[11] Increasingly, these problems are not just experienced in the here-and-now; inter-generational patterns are evident.

To cite one example among many, literacy is a key to school success and employment as an adult. Vulnerable children and youth often experience difficulties in schools because their parents are illiterate and unemployed. In turn, these children's literacy problems in school often cause frustration and failure, resulting ultimately in adult poverty, unemployment, and high mobility-dislocate rates. In short, we have here the makings of inter-generational family poverty, unemployment, and other "rotten outcomes" such as teen pregnancy, violence and crime (e.g., Schorr, 1989). Meaningful work, like literacy programs, is a key intervention. For example, Haveman and Wolfe (1995, p. 250) estimate that meaningful employment for mothers in vulnerable families promises to reduce the school drop-out rate by as much as 43 percent.

For these reasons as well as economic ones (See Danziger and Gottschalk, 1995, pp. 168-174), family-supportive community schools will develop meaningful work initiatives. We call these career (occupational) ladders (see also Bruner, 1996, p. 25). These new jobs respond to requirements of welfare reform. They also support teachers and service professionals who are forced to work alone without needed supports and resources.

An example derived from our site visitations illustrates how these ladders can work. An African-American parent is not involved in the school because her own experiences in school were unpleasant. But she is attracted to a reading group sponsored by the community school program and facilitated by a teacher. After having a good experience with this program, the parent volunteers to help the teacher during the day in the classroom. The parent receives formal training for this, and upon completion, is certified as a paraprofessional teacher aide. Ideally, this training counts for college credit.[12]

After serving as a teacher aide, and gaining both efficacy and commitment, this parent decides that she wants to be a teacher. Teacher preparation programs are offered that build upon the paraprofessional training. While continuing as an aide, she completes her coursework and receives a teaching credential, responding to needs for a more diverse teaching force in the public schools. Her child(ren) will be more successful in school, and they also have a higher probability of attending a college or university. The economic and social benefits of these successes are enormous in comparison to the costs of failure (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995). This is a two-generation strategy that responds to the needs of a parent or caregiver and prevents future problems for her or his child(ren).

The same pattern of occupational development and recruitment can occur in the social and health services and in the other education professions. For example, the RAINmakers in Miami Beach Florida (Alameda, 1996; Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994) have opened their own child care center at the school site. Moreover, we interviewed parent support and early childhood paraprofessionals in Hawaii, and we saw first-hand the good work they perform. Recognizing these and other benefits, a consortium of community colleges in California has initiated degree programs for paraprofessionals desiring to work in integrated services.

Clearly, not all parents will proceed to higher education. Some parents may stop at a lower rung on the ladder; for example, they may remain teacher aides, making this a career. But others may go beyond a teaching certificate and pursue administrative preparation, or preparation for a career as a professor. Still others will seek careers in social work, school counseling and psychology, health care, law enforcement and child care.

The point is, that family-supportive community schools provide occupational and economic opportunities for families that need them most. In this perspective, schools maintain their unique roles and responsibilities, but also, contribute to child welfare and family preservation (Lawson, 1995).

Welfare reform alone mandates this kind of work. Schools and educators are served because employment helps stabilize families; many of the school communities we visited have mobility rates of 50 percent or higher. Importantly, meaningful work contributes to virtuous cycles children, families, and neighborhood communities (Bruner, 1996, pp. 22-23; Parcel and Menaghan, 1994). Occupational ladders do not detract from the school's mission. In fact, they are logical extensions of youth-oriented, school-to-work and school-and-work programs many schools offer already.[13]

3) School readiness, parent education and family support.

Pre-natal and early childhood education programs will be redesigned so that they also educate parents and support families.

As our collective understanding of child development improves, we are gaining new insights into the importance of healthy parents and supported families upon the life course development and life chances of children. Birthweight alone is an important predictor of a child's learning, health and development (e.g., Shiono and Behrman, 1995). Prenatal programs have been developed to respond to needs for healthy, educated parents and strong families. And early childhood education programs have been developed to enhance school-readiness.

Significant work remains to be done in two areas: (1) Developing supports for children between birth and age three (when all young children should begin preschool programs);[14] (2) Making early childhood education programs a universal entitlement and connecting them to K-12 schools. As Zigler (1994) has argued, early childhood programs can be an effective intervention against poverty.

Fortunately, some of this work is already underway (e.g., Entwisle, 1995; Kagan, Goffin, Golub, and Pritchard, 1995). The idea is to learn from the success stories and build upon them. States such as Georgia have launched P-16 initiatives that are designed to facilitate each child's educational development and progressions through a seamless system that begins with preschool (P) and culminates in a university baccalaureate degree (16 years later). Similarly, many states are proceeding with initiatives that establish early childhood education programs on school sites, while licensing and certifying early childhood teachers.

Our proposed strategy builds upon this work by adding an important dimension. Instead of focusing exclusively upon one child in daycare and early childhood programs, there is an equally important focus upon educating and supporting parents; this will strengthen families. This is another example of a two-generation strategy. Nurturing and helping the child requires that parents receive appropriate education, social supports and resources. Counseling may be needed, but often it is not by itself sufficient.

Appropriate employment is one example of a needed support, which also provides necessary resources. In this sense, our occupational development strategy is connected to school readiness and healthy development during early childhood (Lamer, Halpern, and Harkavy, 1993). This school readiness and parent support strategy also contributes to a prevention agenda. By strengthening families, there are fewer child welfare cases involving out-of-home placements. For example, by using an innovative school-based support strategy, Tanoury, Saunders, and Lusk (1996) were able to reduce out-of-home placements by 87 percent. This is a promising development for educators because children in foster care often bring their needs and challenges into schools. When they remain in stronger families, children are more likely to enter school healthy, ready and able to learn.

Ideally, parents can support and advance the learning and healthy development of their children, preventing school- and health-related problems (Hooper-Briar, 1988). In brief, this two-generation strategy may help prevent crises that compel professionals to rescue, or save, children who have been harmed because it addresses some of the primary causes (e.g., unsupported parents and eroding families). Family-supportive community schools thus will focus upon both young children and their parents, strengthening families while building a sense of community. When children enter school ready and able to learn, with their parents standing by to offer reinforcement and support, educators and the school are served, too. This is an important way to think about family-supportive community schools.[15]

4) Caring classrooms that improve children's learning while enhancing teachers' and parents' efficacy.

Classroom and school cultures advance norms of caring, high expectations as well as standards, and success for all. Culturally-responsive, justifiable teaching-learning strategies facilitate children's learning, enhance teachers' working conditions and improve supports for parents' learning and healthy development. Social trust networks among children, educators, parents, community leaders and service providers are promoted with each new achievement.

First things first: Even the most elaborate support and response system will not have its intended, beneficial effects unless teachers are motivated and prepared to make it work. The key motivational factors are the firm belief that all children and their parents are able to learn and the attendant commitments to enable them to do so. Above all, this means not interpreting racial, ethnic, and social-cultural class differences as learning problems and disabilities. Similarly, it is one thing to acknowledge inter-individual differences in academic tasks such as reading and seek explanations for them; it is quite another to label persons with these differences "reading-disabled" and "learning disabled" (Spear-Swerling and Sternberg, 1996). Unfortunately, evidence is mounting that teachers and other educators do these harmful and hurtful things to children and their parents.

Two kinds of improvement and support strategies spring from these fundamental needs. First, strategies are needed that enhance racial, ethnic, and social-cultural class understanding of teachers, other educators, service providers and parents, especially strategies that link understanding with attitudinal and behavioral changes (e.g., Lipman, 1997). These attitudinal-behavioral changes are evident in our quality of treatment and interaction indices; they also are embedded in our prescriptive and prohibitive norms for collaborative practices (pages 54 and 55). Moreover, these attitudinal changes are associated with the efficacy of teachers, children and their parents (e.g., Ross, 1995); and they are influenced by school cultures.

The second kind of improvement and support strategies are more technical and methodological. As a growing number of experts have suggested (e.g., Adelman and Taylor, 1993; Knapp, Adelman, et. al., 1995; Slavin, Madden, et. al., 1996; Spear-Swerling and Sternberg, 1996), teachers and other educators have not been prepared to identify and build upon differences in children, youth and parents. Everyone can learn and develop, but each individual may do so in somewhat unique ways because of interactions among unique experiences, characteristics and environmental influences. Once this is understood, then problems children experience in schools can be framed differently. It is not that some children cannot learn; the problem is that teachers have not been equipped and supported to enable them to do so.

Teachers must believe that all children and youth are able to learn and succeed in school. They also must feel that they can ask for help and appropriate supports when they get stuck. When teachers cannot experience success in their interactions with children, their efficacy suffers (e.g., Ross, 1995). When many teachers have these negative and damaging experiences, an entire school culture may be "at risk." For example, Wexler (1992) is not alone in finding schools in which "nobody cares"; oftentimes these are the schools that serve vulnerable, poor minority children and their families. There is little to gain and much to lose by blaming teachers when the root causes of their problems are the absence of appropriate preparation, often over-crowed classrooms, resource shortfalls, and having to "do it all, alone."

If children's learning barriers, developmental differences and health risk factors are not addressed in a timely fashion, they will not succeed in school (Adelman, 1996). Unless children's needs and problems are addressed and removed early, they will get worse and multiply. When this happens, children often disrupt classrooms, reducing the learning of others. Teachers' beliefs about children's learning and their professional efficacy suffer (Ross, 1995). Over time, children may be assigned to special education and then drop out of school; then other personal-social problems tend to follow (e.g., Wagner, 1995; Wagner and Blackorby, 1996).

Teachers have told us that they are forced to spend too much time with these children, disciplining them and trying to catch them up to the rest of the class. Moreover, with the inclusion of former special education students in regular classrooms, teachers will be compelled to implement optimal practices associated with their learning needs. For example, these students need individualized instruction, careful, frequent monitoring of their progress, and appropriate feedback. (Hocutt, 1996). Their parents need to be involved with these children's schooling and teachers (Sailor, Kleinhammer-Tramill, et. al., 1996; Wagner and Blackorby, 1996). This is labor-intensive work for teachers already burdened by instructional demands associated with special subjects, instructional technologies and other learners.

In short, needs exist to help and support teachers, not just children, youth, parents and families (Corrigan, 1994). Ideally, it is possible to improve the conditions for teachers' work, maximizing the probability that they will be successful, and, at the same time, help children, youth and their parents. This is the rationale for the kinds of support and response systems identified in the Enabling Component and in Family-Supportive Community Schools.

These response systems require new policies, resources, timely and clear communications, as well as referral and follow-up procedures. Above all, new partnerships will be formed among parents, teachers, principals, health and social service providers, and school support professionals such as school nurses, counselors and social workers (Adelman, 1996). Together, they will design classroom- and teacher-responsive assistance strategies. Together, they will implement sound teaching-learning practices.

We will not attempt to identify all much-needed teaching-learning methodologies and related school improvement strategies. Standardized, one-size-fits all techniques, some called "teacher proof," are not what we have in mind. Many existing approaches have growing research and evaluation documentation in support of them. These fit nicely inside the conception of a family-supportive community school.

For example, the teaching-learning associated with the School Development Program, The Developmental Studies Program, Success for All, and Accelerated Schools are good fits. All need to become two-generation strategies because in this model, the parents and primary caregivers are as important as one child. This is not much of "a stretch" for these and other approaches. For example, here is a list of guiding principles for Accelerated Schools that fits nicely with our thinking about needed changes involving teachers, other educators, service providers and parents at the classroom and school levels:

- High expectations for all children
- A vision and clear goals for making all students academically able
- Ways to create powerful learning experiences to accelerate the progress of all children
- Ways to offer stimulating instructional programs based on problem solving and interesting, relevant applications
- Ways to build upon the strengths of their students, parents and families
- Ways to promote empowerment with responsibility
- Ways for school communities to systematically define their own challenges and search out unique solutions that will work for them. (Hopfenberg, Levin, et. al., 1993, pp. 17-18).

In addition, we offer in Figure 3 (on page 47) the map of children's educational experiences developed by Moore (1992). These five areas are also important in work involving family-supportive community schools as well as in the Enabling Model.

Another key difference in this model of the family-supportive community school is the provision of helpers other than certified teachers in each classroom, especially parent helpers who see their work as jobs and are paid.

Designs for teacher leadership are enriched when they orchestrate the work of helpers in their classrooms. Teachers' roles also are recast, enabling them to do important work. For example, Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1993) roles and responsibilities for teachers-as-action researchers apply here. Helpers in the classroom make it possible for teachers to have the time and supports to do so, along with needed authentic assessments.

Moreover, parents and other helpers also are involved with action-research and practice-improvement agendas. Teams of parents also become collaborative problem-solvers, accepting shared responsibilities for problems such as truancy, suspensions, evictions and employment assistance for welfare recipients; and starting new initiatives such as homework clubs and teacher-parent partnerships. Parents learn along with children, and parents' efficacy also is increased. No child is allowed to fall through the cracks.

In short, this kind of thinking gets to the heart of real school practices. It involves new dimensions of teacher leadership and restructuring classrooms. It provides for teachers new avenues to information, improving motivation as well as professional obligations and mutual accountability. Smylie's (1994) review of research on redesigning teachers' work supports the importance of these redesigned work roles and responsibilities. Their projected connections with children's learning, healthy development and overall success in school provides the most important justification, however.

Back to basics: Teachers need to believe that all children and their parents are able to learn; and then help design classroom supports to ensure that they do so. Only then will the support and response system work as intended. In brief, teachers are leaders in developing norms and classroom cultures of caring and concern. Children and youth also have key parts to play in the development of classroom-based and school-wide "caring communities" (e.g., Newmann, 1993; Noddings, 1992; Schaps, Lewis, and Watson, 1995; Swadener and Lubeck, 1995). We are suggesting that parents also can play key roles in the development of caring communities; and, that schools can help development caring communities in homes. In these school communities "everybody cares." Appropriate response and support systems nurture and support these caring communities. Social trust networks associated with "healthy" families, communities, economies, and democracy (e.g., Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1995) develop as all succeed.

5) Improved classroom supports and resources for teachers and children.

Parents and other helpers such as university students, elders, business representatives, and community leaders will enter into classrooms to work in partnership with teachers. Teachers and their classroom helpers will identify children's risk factors and learning barriers, allowing children and their families to receive needed services, supports and resources.

We begin with the classroom as the primary unit, rather than the school, the school district, or the state department of education. The idea is to start with the needs of teachers and children. We build in approaches to preventing and removing barriers at the same time that we develop high impact, results-oriented, teaching and learning strategies (e.g., teaching for meaning and understanding, culturally-responsive pedagogies).

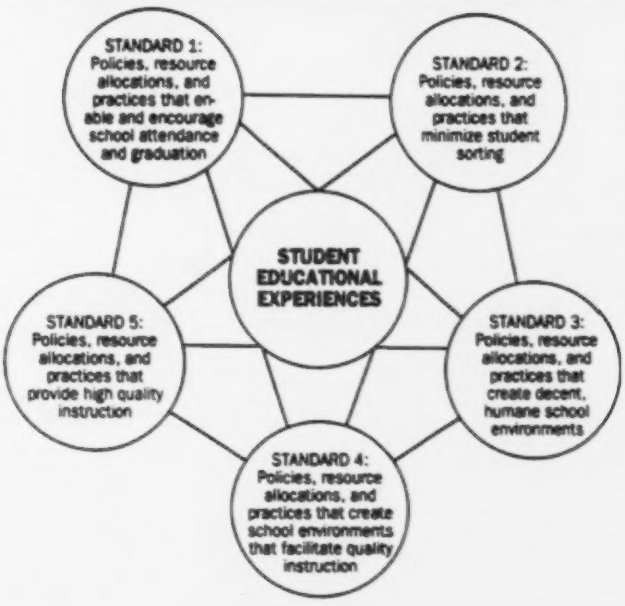
In the past, teachers and parents often have not been at the table when change decisions have been made. When teachers and parents have no say in decisions that influence them and the children they care about, they tend to ignore or resist these changes. At best, they tend to single out, and then modify, a few pieces of the proposed change. This is not a good way to improve children's achievement and schools. We have learned that the persons designing change often are not the ones expected to implement and benefit from it. We also have learned how unwise it is to separate design, implementation and evaluation decisions.

By contrast, in the future initiatives teachers and parents need to be the lead designers of changes that occur in classrooms. This assumption links family-supportive community schools with new conceptions of teacher leadership (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Ohair and Odell, 1995). Teachers and parents bring different backgrounds to this work, along with diverse ways of working together. This means that their classroom designs will differ within each school. Reculturing of schools thus will proceed by means of recultured classrooms, including rainbow-like diversity.

Teachers across the nation are voicing concern over the condition and characteristics of a growing number of children. Increasing numbers of children bring into classrooms health risk factors and learning-developmental barriers, which reduce their academic achievement. Faced with these risk factors and barriers, teachers feel isolated and alone. With good reason, they complain that they cannot be social workers, health educators and psychologists. Even worse, teachers feel blamed when they cannot produce increases in children's academic achievement. Parents also experience blame when their children do not succeed. No one wins in these circumstances—children, parents, or teachers.

New helpers serve as tutors, mentors, and guides. With these new helpers and resources, teachers have more time to chart results, devise new teaching and learning strategies, develop more subject matter competence, teach for meaning and understanding, complete authentic assessments, and tailor learning experiences for diverse children. We envision a developmental process involving two interactive phases. Phase one involves teacher leadership for changes in the classroom and ownership of results for children. This phase alone brings dramatic changes to current conceptions of "real school." Phase two involves joint planning and decision-making between teachers and parents at the classroom level. This is a second dramatic change, which, in our view, follows the first. Both will require time, tailored technical assistance and local capacity-building (Adelman and Taylor, in press).

FIGURE 3: Moore's Five Standards for Judging the Quality of Students' Educational Experiences


STANDARD 1: Policies, resource allocations, and practices that enable and encourage school attendance and graduation
STANDARD 2: Policies, resource allocations, and practices that minimize student sorting
STUDENT EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES
STANDARD 5: Policies, resource allocations, and practices that provide high quality instruction
STANDARD 3: Policies, resource allocations, and practices that create decent, humane school environments
STANDARD 4: Policies, resource allocations, and practices that create school environments that facilitate quality instruction

Teachers, parents, and other helpers can be prepared to detect early signs of needs and problems. Learning to see signs of malnutrition, insufficient sleep, child abuse, dyslexia and other risk factors is not difficult. Identifying these risk factors in the classroom allows timely referral to persons qualified to address them. This training emphasizes cultural diversity, so that everyone understands that children's cultural differences are not the same as risk factors or learning-developmental barriers.

Response teams of parents, educators and social service professionals are "on call" to help when children are referred by teachers and parents. Each response is personalized. For example, sometimes a parent prepared to assist children need only provide encouragement and support to a child with an immediate need. At other times, a child's risk factors and learning barriers stem from family needs for services, supports, or resources; in cases like these, community-based response teams address entire families.

We are not asking teachers to be social workers or health professionals. Nor are we suggesting that parents without comparable training should replace all of the professionals. Rather, we are offering a systems design in which each caring adult and peer plays a part that is appropriate for them. This design is based upon lessons learned we presented earlier, especially these two: (1) there will never be enough professionals; and (2) parents play key mediating roles in instruction and service provision. Such a systems design facilitates professional development and capacity-building because the knowledge, skills, norms and sensitivities that each person needs can be specified.

Response teams of parents, educators and social service professionals will be "on call" to help when children are referred by teachers and parents. Each response will be personalized. For example, sometimes a parent paraprofessional who is prepared to assist children need only provide encouragement and support for one child who has an immediate need, and this response can occur in the classroom. In other cases, a child will need to be temporarily removed from class, but because the needs are modest, a parent paraprofessional in a school-based family resource center can help. A more serious need or problem can be addressed by a school counselor or school nurse, or some combination of existing pupil support professionals. And when there are signs of a family- and community-oriented problem, or crisis, community health and social service providers respond to the need, making home visits and mobilizing neighborhood-community resources.

The expertise of parents and parent advocates is crucial in this work. So is the expertise of children and youth. Around the nation, we see children and youth cited as key problem solvers, mediators, curricular designers and consultants on what will work. Examples include truancy outreach, diverting troubled children to a peer support group, substance abuse treatment and prevention, and non-violent, conflict resolution. In one school, fifth grade children formed a "misunderstood students group," responding to their perception that they were misunderstood by their teachers and parents. Rather than acting out their frustration and getting disciplined at school and at home, the children received help as they, in essence, referred themselves to this support group. These children's social functioning and academic achievement both improved. In all cases, these peer-governed initiatives are started and supported by adults. We are not suggesting that, in every school community, children and youth can begin and sustain them alone. These initiatives are important responses that help improve results for children.

In short, these response teams will benefit children, parents and teachers. When children's risk factors and learning-developmental-barriers are removed, teachers can teach, and all children can learn. Parents gain satisfaction that their children are receiving personalized attention and reaching their potential. Children's achievement improves, along with their overall success in school. Importantly, this work dovetails with continuous efforts in schools to respond to new mandates for inclusion of "special education students" in "regular classrooms."

In these family-supportive, community schools, systems are being designed that reduce significantly the number of "push-outs" and "pull-outs" into costly special education programs. Figures 4 and 5 (on page 50) depict planned differences between vicious cycles of school failure and virtuous cycles involving success for every child. Teacher-led classrooms teams allows the inclusion of diverse learners in classrooms at the same time that each child receives more personalized attention aimed at academic achievement and healthy development. Importantly, teachers are supported at the same time that students are helped, and the enhanced job satisfaction and well-being of teachers contributes to more positive school climates and cultures.

In short, we are describing integration where it matters most—in the lives, experiences and everyday interactions of all members of the school community. Here is a case example that illustrates some of the dynamics and benefits.

An elementary school teacher experiences repeated frustrations with the same child in her class. She cannot find ways to keep her on task. The child acts out, and, at times, falls asleep at her desk. Increasingly, she is tardy or absent. The teacher is frustrated, but does not confuse her frustration with this child's ability to learn. Rather than blaming the child, or doubting her own abilities to help her, she initiates a referral.

The teacher discusses the situation with the parent volunteer in her classroom. Together they decide to involve the child's parents, a school support professional (e.g., a counselor, school nurse, social worker, or psychologist). With the parents and child as partners, the team works on solutions to the child's learning and developmental barriers. They meet regularly to chart progress and plan new strategies.

During these meetings, teachers and service providers alike can gain more understanding for what it is like to "walk a mile in the shoes" of the child and her family. This is especially the case when the challenges of poverty and racism are part of the equation. Teachers and service providers alike can begin to see children and families in a different light, finding cause to empathize. Instead of seeing only these children's deficits, needs and problems, professionals can learn to see resilience, strengths and aspirations.

Inspired by a whatever it takes attitude, the team makes a difference in the lives of the child and, in some cases, the family. Improvements in the child's attendance, behavior, learning and overall functioning follow. These improvements increase the efficacy of the child and the parents, and, at the same time, the senses of efficacy and empathy of the teacher, parent advocate and service provider. In short, everyone benefits, and each person's successes build upon the others'. Teachers told us about these kinds of changes during our interviews. Good news becomes contagious throughout the school community.

To summarize: The work we propose involves teams of caring adults, especially parents, teachers, principals, school support professionals, service providers, elders, business representatives, university students and others. Team members complete results-oriented assessments for each child. They begin their work by identifying barriers to children's learning and healthy development, and work to remove or mitigate these barriers. They share relevant information and make joint decisions, continue to monitor progress and make in-flight adjustments as needed. Above all, they share accountability for children's results.

6) Collaborative leadership.

Principals and superintendents will receive new preparation for different roles and responsibilities, enabling teachers, other educators, parents, service providers and children to share leadership opportunities and decision-making power.

Our site visits and interviews have helped us learn that principals can be prepared to see, predict and address barriers to change. They are leaders among advocates for children, youth and families. A growing literature on school leadership and our site interviews support our claim that principals can make needed changes in their work orientations, language and behavior. They can become expert analysts and facilitators for the change process.

Enfranchising others to be collaborative decision-makers and change agents takes time, hard work and technical assistance. There is a "ripple effect" beginning with changes in individuals, moving to changes in groups and schools as work organizations. Ultimately, these changes come together as school communities are "restructured and recultured" (Fullan, 1993).

Unless they receive technical assistance and support for democratizing decision-making and enfranchising participants, many superintendents and principals will face multiple and competing demands, perhaps acting as barriers to change. For example, school restructuring and site-based management (decision-making) alone are changing the roles of principals. Many principals are voicing needs for help in becoming more enfranchising and democratic leaders. They seek ways to move from familiar compliance strategies to new commitment-generating strategies (Leithwood, 1993). And foundation officers are realizing needs for a new knowledge base for school leadership for emergent school-family-community partnerships (Wilson, 1993).

It is timely to begin dialogue around "the principalship" and not continuing to talk only about one person as the principal. The principals were interviewed and observed were working too many hours, and they knew it. Many worried about their health and abilities to sustain themselves. Needs exist for school-family-community coordinators, who work closely with the principal, educators and service providers while advocating for children, youth and families, will be a key component in the integration of all of the changes occurring in and around schools.

During our site visits, principals also voiced needs for leadership supports and technical assistance. Their principal preparation programs usually did not prepare them for integrating school reform, school-linked services, parent empowerment, and community education. Like teachers, they have not had enough preparation for collaborative practices with other helping professions and for creating family-supportive, community schools. Principals feel caught in double binds because their interactions with district offices and school board officials continue to feel "top down" and compliance-oriented. Considerable work needs to be done in this area.

As Crowson and Boyd (1996) indicate, these complex change initiatives require a deep understanding of organizational change and institutional networking (See also, Crowson, Boyd, and Mawhinney, 1996). Leadership in these settings also requires a social-psychological perspective on "professional socialization, administrative leadership, group dynamics, and bargaining/negotiating" (p. 150). Above all, we learned about needs for understanding about diverse children and families, especially social-ecological relationships among children, families, neighborhood-communities and the characteristics of their natural environments.

All of this is new to principals and superintendents who have thought about school leadership in traditional, bureaucratic ways. But it is consistent with the work of Sergiovanni (1992) and others who call for a new generation of school leaders who operate from a position of moral authority and commitments. This is also consistent with calls to reinvent school district's central offices (e.g., Berne, Wagner, et. al., 1995).

Expanded conceptions of collaborative school community leadership are too abstract without examples of needed changes. We have observed, read, listened and learned about some of these changes. For example, in Sacramento, California, school districts have formalized job descriptions for School-Family-Community Coordinators, persons who work closely with and support principals. We also have learned that the principal's willingness and ability to share power and authority are critical to collaborative, democratic decisions-making. Teachers , other educators, parents, and other decision-makers need time to participate and perhaps technical assistance. In other words, this is a change, change involves learning, and technical assistance may need to be provided to help identify and implement the requirements for collaborative leadership (Johnson and Pajares, 1996).

We will not attempt to delineate all of the needed knowledge that parents, teachers, principals and service providers require for their roles and responsibilities in family-supportive community schools. This is, after all, an empirical question that careful evaluations need to address. Moreover, debates continue over what kinds of knowledge and whose knowledge matter most in schools (e.g., Fenstermacher, 1994; Grimmett and MacKinnon, 1992; Sergiovanni, 1992).

For purposes of illustration only, we present in Appendix C four tables that depict new roles and knowledge domains for teachers, principals, service providers and parents in three kinds of schools: Subject-centered, child-centered, and family-supportive community schools. We offer these tables as initial planning guides for technical assistance initiatives and professional preparation programs (both preservice and professional development offerings). In other words, these tables are sensitizing frameworks, not comprehensive knowledge maps; we hope they will clarify alternatives and possible future directions. In our view, they help link the Enabling Component with the Family-Supportive Community School. The distinctions we offer are intended to facilitate analysis and informed decision-making; we know that many of the differences we present in these tables are not mutually exclusive in the school communities we visited.

7) Educational communities.

Enriched opportunities for learning, healthy development and well-being will be provided for children and youth during the non-school hours by mentors in neighborhood organizations, religious organizations, community agencies, businesses, and voluntary associations such as boys and girls clubs, music groups, computer networks, and sport-exercise groups. Connections will be made between school experiences, community schooling, and learning that occurs in educational communities outside the school.

Educational communities are planned and unplanned, formal and informal, associations, clubs and social networks that support the learning, healthy development and well-being of children, youth and their families. Miseducative communities work in reverse; they harm people. Examples include drug trafficking networks and the "shadow economies" that are fostered by gangs (Lawson, 1994). Educative communities are sponsored by boys and girls clubs; churches, mosques and synagogues; neighborhood organizations; and families themselves.

In recent years the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1992;1995) has provided leadership in assembling relevant evidence and information about the impor-

FIGURE 4: Self-Fulfilling Prophecies and Vicious Cycles

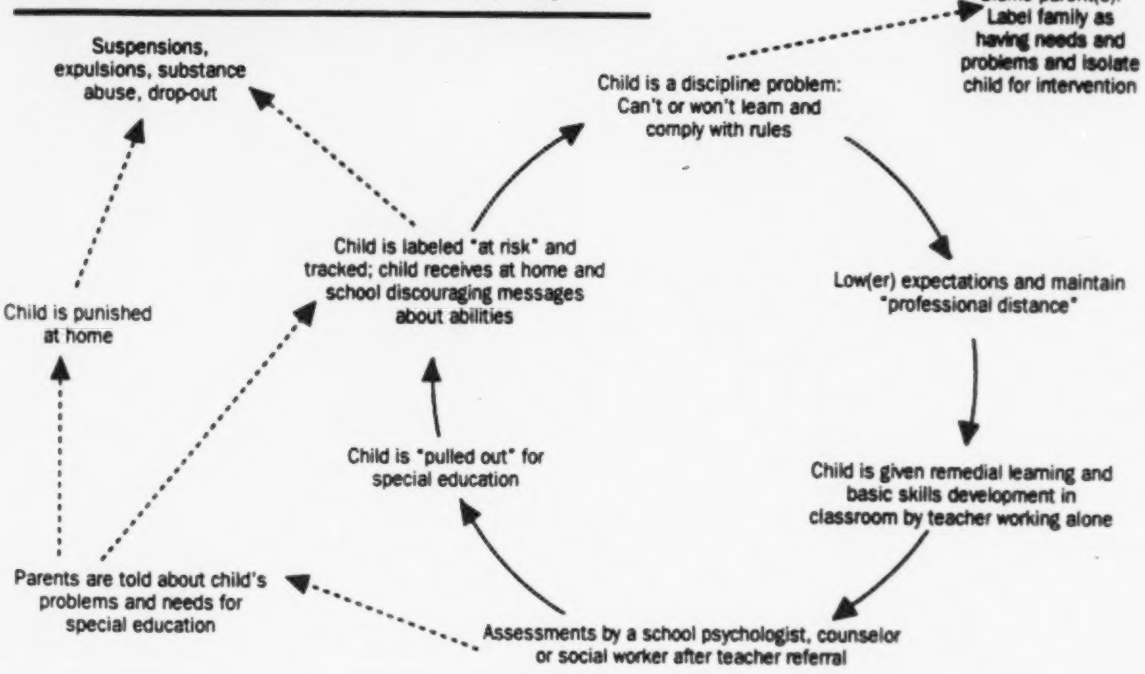
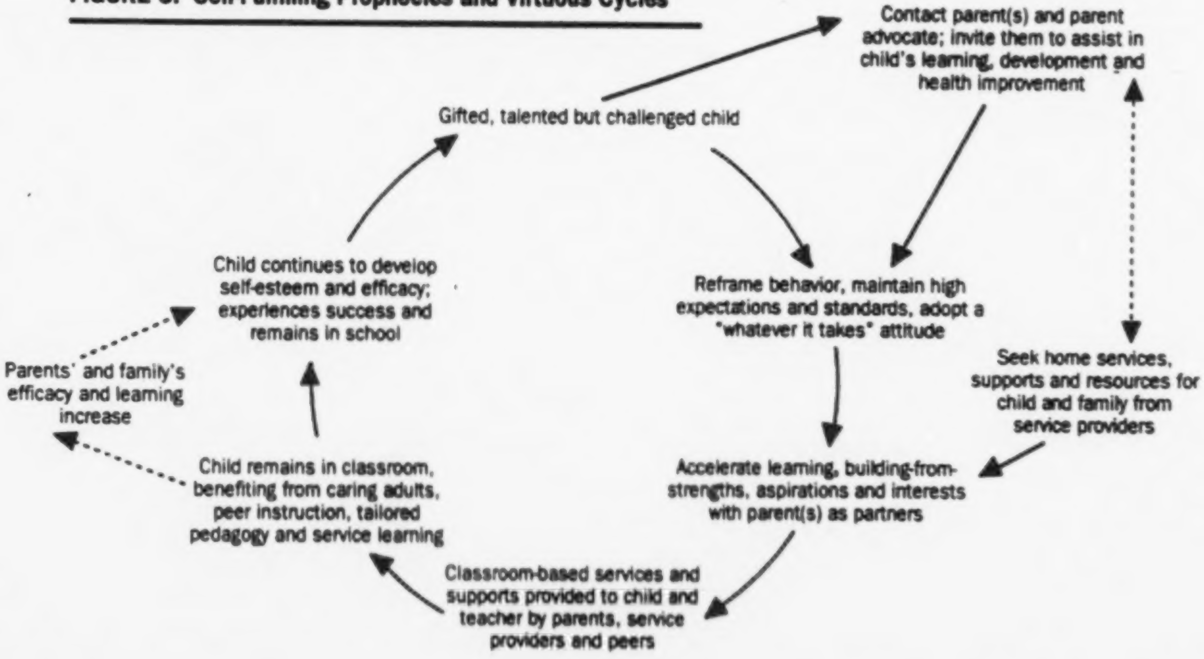

Blame parent(s): Label family as having needs and problems and isolate child for intervention
Suspensions, expulsions, substance abuse, drop-out
Child is a discipline problem: Can't or won't learn and comply with rules
Child is labeled "at risk" and tracked; child receives at home and school discouraging messages about abilities
Child is punished at home
Low(er) expectations and maintain "professional distance"
Child is "pulled out" for special education
Child is given remedial learning and basic skills development in classroom by teacher working alone
Parents are told about child's problems and needs for special education
Assessments by a school psychologist, counselor or social worker after teacher referral

FIGURE 5: Self-Fulfilling Prophecies and Virtuous Cycles


Contact parent(s) and parent advocate; invite them to assist in child's learning, development and health improvement
Gifted, talented but challenged child
Child continues to develop self-esteem and efficacy; experiences success and remains in school
Reframe behavior, maintain high expectations and standards, adopt a "whatever it takes" attitude
Parents' and family's efficacy and learning increase
Seek home services, supports and resources for child and family from service providers
Child remains in classroom, benefiting from caring adults, peer instruction, tailored pedagogy and service learning
Accelerate learning, building-from-strengths, aspirations and interests with parent(s) as partners
Classroom-based services and supports provided to child and teacher by parents, service providers and peers

tance of the non-school hours for the learning, healthy development and well-being of children and youth. Unfortunately, the children and youth who need most educational communities outside the school are usually the least likely to find them. Public programs as well as local clubs and associations offered through religious and charitable groups are in decline in many places. Reasons include funding shortfalls, leadership voids, fragmentation, and duplication. Today, when family systems are changing and more parents are compelled to seek employment—especially former welfare parents—supports in the form of educational communities for children and youth will become even more important.

Recognition is growing of the largely unrealized potential of educational communities outside the school to enhance school performance (e.g., Heath and McLaughlin, 1996). Indeed, Steinberg, Brown, and Dornbusch (1996) suggest that school reform will fail unless we increase the amount and quality of the time that children and youth currently devote to important, school-related learning. In their study, about 15 percent of youth's time was devoted to school-related learning. Absent safe, nurturing environments and appropriate educational opportunities that improve children's learning and development and improved school-family-community linkages, both families and schools will continue to be challenged. Teachers will get blamed at the same time that children suffer the long-term consequences of insufficient learning and unhealthy development.

Effective community school programs help launch and support educational communities that connect school and extra-school learning and healthy development. These programs remain a potentially powerful, yet still under-developed way to support children, their parents and entire families. For example, new designs for HIV/AIDS prevention (Gingiss, 1997) and for health education and promotion generally will be enhanced in community school programs.

Our collective understanding is growing about the characteristics of effective leader-mentors for youth and the design of effective programs (e.g., Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992, 1995; Hellison, 1995; McLaughlin, Irby, and Langman, 1994). We envision leadership development programs for paraprofessional parents, youth, and community residents. Here, too, occupational ladder systems can be developed at the same time that children, youth and their families are supported by the educational communities these leaders can foster.

There is much to do, through family-supportive community schools, in fostering educational communities that are closely linked to schools and classrooms. For example, we have observed and helped design homework clubs and tutorial opportunities in homes, neighborhood associations, and community organizations. Furthermore, children and youth who are suspended or expelled from schools need not sacrifice their learning when educational communities provide learning-related assistance. Health prevention and promotion efforts for children and youth also hinge upon meaningful, engaging, and beneficial opportunities during the non-school hours (e.g., Tetleman, 1996). Youth mentors and program leaders also have demonstrable impacts upon school completion and aspirations for higher education, affecting future employment status (e.g., Levine and Nidiffer, 1996).

This kind of thinking takes us back to the future. Early in this Century, settlement houses, schools as social centers, and what was then called "the playground movement" shared a concern for the learning and healthy development of children and youth during the non-school hours. As a new Century dawns, we can build upon these early models, avoiding their shortcomings (e.g. Halpern, 1995), and modifying them to meet the everyday realities and lived experiences of vulnerable children, youth and families.

8) Neighborhood development and community organization.

Families will be supported and strengthened by educational, health, recreational, and occupational-economic experiences offered in community school programs. Neighborhood-communities will become safer and stronger as parents are employed and families are supported.

Needs exist for each school community to map its assets, determine its needs, and mobilize local stakeholders (e.g., Kretzmann and McKnight, 1995; Samuels, Ahsan, and Garcia, 1995). Important lessons learned can be derived from prior experiences (Halpern, 1995). Clearly, development initiatives for local neighborhood-communities cannot be planned and initiated by educators alone. School-community-family consortia are formed to facilitate and monitor both school successes and neighborhood and community development initiatives (Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1994). These consortia are comprised of all relevant stakeholders in the school community, especially representatives from social and health service agencies, other helping professions, media representatives, resident leaders, family members, policy leaders, and business representatives.

As parents become employed in meaningful work, families are stabilized, and neighborhood-communities are made safe and supportive, children and youth fare better in schools. For example, Haveman and Wolfe (1995, p. 251) suggest that the probability of school drop-outs will decrease by over 50 percent. Violence and crime are likely to be reduced (Earls, 1994; Spergel, 1995).

Consortia are keys to collaborative practices and organizational partnerships. They respond to twin needs: Maximizing the resources of a school community and protecting the unique roles, responsibilities and missions of each participating entity. Unlike many service integration initiatives, these consortia are based upon recognition of more comprehensive family support, community development, and employment needs. Clearly, schools cannot and should not attempt to do all of this important work. Businesses, corporations, local community development organizations and loan agencies (banks, local credit associations) are at the table. They help plan for economic and occupational development. Furthermore, we know that consortium members can help plan, implement and evaluate extended day and year educational, health, recreational and occupational course experiences and programs offered through the school.

Moreover, institutionalized consortia provide public forums for dialogue, decision-making, knowledge generation, and political mobilization. Thus, consortia are not just organizational mechanisms. They are important community associations; they serve as vehicles for John Dewey's (1927; 1939) visions for democracy and democratic institutions (Benson and Harkavy, 1997; Skrtic and Sailor, 1996).

In this perspective, all adult members of the school-community are joined in what we call a "a risk reduction and barrier-busting strategy." Everyone in the school community concerns themselves with children's risk factors and learning barriers. Parents and community residents lead these initiatives in local neighborhood communities. In the school, teachers are the primary leaders, working in close partnerships with parents. In our view, teaching/learning, enhancing healthy development and well-being, and barrier-busting are inseparable. Together, they pave the way toward best practices in classrooms and in local neighborhood communities. This focus is itself a facilitator for integration, including the integration of school reculturing and restructuring efforts.

For example, we have been participant observers in school community marches in the Walbridge Caring Communities Program in St. Louis, Missouri to stop drug trafficking and violence in local neighborhood-communities. Conducted in concert with the local police, these marches have made progress in improving the safety and security of homes and neighborhoods for children, families and adult residents.

9) Simultaneous Renewal of Higher Education.[16]

Professional development initiatives will prepare university faculty, school leaders, and helping professionals for collaborative teaching, research and service responsibilities. University students have more powerful learning experiences in school-family-community-university partnership settings.

There is a growing literature in supportive of university-related partnerships that facilitate simultaneous renewal (e.g., Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1996). Leaders have learned, for example, that changing preservice preparation programs without simultaneous changing work practices and organizations is often counterproductive; new knowledge, norms, values and skills tend to be "washed out" in work organizations that do not value them. Similarly, changes in the world of practice without simultaneous changes in preservice programs is counterproductive; when preservice programs lag behind the world of practice, then all new graduates must be re-educated and trained by their work organizations. Simultaneous renewal through strategic partnerships provides opportunities for faculty development initiatives, and it provides opportunities to improve the quality and quantity of university students' learning through direct involvement in school-community settings.

10) Technology enhancement and use.

Cable television and computer networking for teaching and learning in schools will be linked to homes, neighborhoods, higher education institutions, businesses, and community agencies. These enhanced networks will double as family support and community development facilitators.

We have entered the information age, and opportunities exist to share, as appropriate, relevant information about children and families across school and community agency boundaries.[17] Even so, for many poor school communities, computers in homes and neighborhoods are a luxury. Cable television will have to suffice for some; for others, it is also a luxury. Educational reform in poor communities requires investments in technology.

Where schools are concerned, states are making a start. Ohio's Schoolnet is just one example of state-wide initiatives aimed at enhancing learning and instruction in schools. A computer-assisted, risk accountability system has been developed to assist school counselors and service providers in their work with children, youth and families (Armijo, Stowitschek, et. a., 1994).

In St. Louis, Missouri, the Grace Hill Settlement House has developed exciting ways to use computer networks for several related purposes. In poor neighborhoods like this one, a parent may serve at the helping station in their block, offering computer-assisted networking and information supports. Occupational development; adult education; barter systems fostering mutual aid and assistance networks for family support; and skill exchanges all occur with parents and community residents in leadership roles. For example, the computer networking facilitates a time-dollar exchange program in which residents exchange services that would otherwise cost money (e.g., child care is exchanged for hair styling). Family relationships and social cohesion are developed at the same time. Ideally, these kinds of social-informational networks can link families and schools. In brief, technology enhancement-utilization can help children, support parents and families, and strengthen local neighborhood-communities.

Two Sets of Indices for Planning and Evaluation

We began our work in search of ways to integrate change initiatives. What we call "indices of integration" are defining elements in family-supportive community schools. These indices are grounded in our observations, interviews, literature review and direct experiences as change agents.

We were especially attracted to Newmann's (1993) observation: "New organizational structures may be necessary, but not sufficient. Something else is needed, a set of *particular* commitments and competencies to guide practice" (p. 5). We agree, and so do others we have interviewed. Our indices of integration, the accompanying indices of treatment and interaction, and the aforementioned ten change strategies represent one approach to identifying and implementing that much-needed "something else."

INDICES OF INTEGRATION

What does integration look like? How will we know it when we see it? Here is a set of indices we developed as a measure for school communities in the midst of this work. For school communities that are just starting to integrate change initiatives, these indices may serve as change targets. Some of these indices are evident in Adelman's model. In both models, changes occur at several levels of practice in schools and community agencies, involving policy change as well as behavioral-attitudinal changes.

I. Indices Related to Children,Youth and Families

- School and agency personnel are child-focused and family-supportive.
- Children, youth and families are viewed as experts in what hurts and helps them; they are enfranchised as partners in all aspects of assistance, support and resource strategies.
- Parents and parent advocates are recruited and prepared to work with teachers, service providers and other parents, connecting and integrating assistance offered to children.
- A parent-run, family resource center located in the school doubles as a "chill-out room" for children feeling stressed and needing a brief time out.
- Services are expanded to include the generation of new resources to help children, youth and families in poverty. New strategies might include micro enterprises, school stores, bartering systems, and occupational development ladders in the school and in the community.

II. Indices Related to Reculturing and Restructuring

- Everything in the school flows from one core value: All children can learn and succeed.
- Behavioral and cultural norms of caring, empathy, mutual respect, trust, high expectations, kindness, mutual support and shared advocacy for children, parents and professionals. These norms guide collaborative decision-making, conflict resolution, and problem-solving.
- School resource allocation policies and practices reflect an expanded conception of educational reform in which all programs and initiatives are focused on improving results for children, youth and families.
- A quality of interaction index is used to measure how well all members of the school community feel they are being treated; the information is used to identify action steps needed to improve practices, remove barriers, support new initiatives and reward improvements.
- Commitments to culturally-competent and -responsive practices are shared across all partners—namely, parents, teachers, service providers, school support professionals and principals.
- Leaders model thoughtful, reflective analysis, and they facilitate the development of a learning community in which collaborative decision-making is based on charted results and shared missions.
- Performance-based accountability systems replace rule-based job descriptions and supervision. Policies and structures are responsive to achievements and new work roles. Policy-making and decision-making are democratized.
- The roles and responsibilities of teachers, parents, service providers, school support professionals, principals and children change to encourage shared leadership and ownership of results.

III. Indices Related to Classroom Programs and School Practices

- All program elements and change initiatives (e.g., school-linked services, school reform, parental involvement programs, and Community school) are defined as one initiative, and they share interdependent goals for children's improved educational achievement, healthy development and functioning in the school, community and home.
- Teachers, service providers and parents together set goals. All share accountability for results. They talk like members of the same team.
- Parents and teachers, working together in classrooms, make the initial attempts to address the first signs of risk and learning-developmental barriers.
- Children's needs to receive services and their work in supporting one another (e.g. truancy outreach, substance abuse prevention, peer-tutoring and support groups) are not seen by teachers as competing with their time in the classroom.
- Community school programs offer academic and health enrichment opportunities for children, youth and families, resulting in greater cohesion among in-school and out-of-school experiences. Community school programs are seen as an essential part of educational reform and incorporated in results-oriented planning and action strategies.
- Curricular improvements in health education, physical education, and family life education are informed by the providers and activities accompanying school-linked services and Community school programs.
- New models for "principalships" are implemented and assessed.
- New language and decision making-structures foster strength and asset-based learning, service, support and resource strategies. People talk about their "school community," not just the school.

IV. Indices Related to Interactions among Teachers, Service Providers and Parents

- Teachers, parents, school support professionals and service providers all see themselves as front-line practitioners helping children. Collaborative structures include site-based teams, child study teams and classroom teams.
- Parents are integral to classroom improvement and instructional support strategies as well as service delivery and response strategies.
- Technical assistance and planning time are available to teachers, parents, service providers, school support professionals and principals for vision, mission and role development, implementation and assessment.
- Results are charted regularly and used in collaborative decision-making.
- Teachers lead child-responsive assistance teams working to ensure children's success.
- Teachers are concerned about, and involved with, decisions about children's mental health, substance abuse, their time outside of school, and life skills decision-making, along with the supports offered parents and families.
- All the support staff in the school (including guidance counselors, school nurses and social workers, school psychologists, janitors, cafeteria workers and hall monitors) are mobilized and trained to be part of the resource, service and support strategy for children.
- In the eyes of children, youth and families, educators, service providers and community leaders are "on the same page."
- Children, youth and families experience the offerings of schools and community agencies as integrated and supportive.

V. Indices for Policy Leaders

- Organizational realignment ensures collaboration at all levels of decision making—classroom, school, school district, health and social service agencies, and state government.
- Integrative planning for children, youth and families involves clusters of schools, rather than one isolated school; cross-school collaboration, technical assistance and resource sharing are in place.
- Professional development and technical assistance programs build capacities within school communities and develop cross-site learning and support networks.
- Supervisory and accountability structures are meshed.

INDICES AND NORMS RELATED TO THE QUALITY OF INTERACTION AND TREATMENT

Even the best laid plans for integration will fall short unless improvements are realized in the ways in which people interact with and treat each other. These improvements are key ingredients in Newmann's call for "something else."

These indices begin with people's attitudes, beliefs and commitments. For example, can all children learn and experience overall success in school? With appropriate services, supports and resources, can parents serve as partners in the learning, development and well-being of their children? We believe so, and there is a growing amount of evidence and promising achievements in support of our claim (e.g., Herman and Stringfield, 1995; Knapp, Adelman, et. al., 1995). To reiterate, we have heard otherwise during our site visits and interviews. In fact, we have seen well intended teams of educators and service providers inadvertently engage in hurtful practices.

In short, structural changes are important, but changes involving professionals' and families interactions, learning and perceptions are required, too. Unless people feel that they are being treated better and, as a consequence, outcomes improve, what's the point behind school reform, school-linked services, parental involvement and community education? Caring about, believing in, and advocating for children and families provide the foundation for improving results.

The following indices are examples of ways school leaders may plan, monitor and improve the quality of the interactions among professionals and family members. Once fully developed, this index might become a powerful research and evaluation construct. Here are some of the key components suggested by our work:

- Professionals and parents identify, continuously talk about, and implement norms of caring, advocacy, empathy, mutual respect and honoring as well as norms for collaboration.
- Professionals identify, talk about and honor an interprofessional code of ethics (e.g., an ethic of kindness, a no-blame, no reject ethic, a whatever-it-takes ethic; norms of non-discrimination and non-repression).
- Bills of Rights are drafted and honored that formalize expectations for how professionals will interact with, and treat, children, youth and families; organizational cultures, policies and reward and accountability structures reinforce these expectations and identify solutions when expectations are violated.
- Everyday language is used to convey these norms, codes of ethics and expectations, and this language that does not stigmatize and stereotype individuals, cultural groups, or different professions.
- Culturally-responsive and family-empowering and enfranchising practices are adopted; cultural difference is emphasized as a source of enrichment.

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- Practices are adopted that build on family strengths, aspirations and potential, rather than treating people as problems, deficient, unworthy and deviant.
- Parents and caregivers feel enfranchised as lead partners in youth and child development and problem-solving.
- Problem-solving groups, structures and processes are created in which communities of caring adults learn to treat every barrier as an inventive opportunity for collaborative problem-solving, learning and development.
- Front-line practitioners and middle managers feel supported in their work and have high indices of job satisfaction, personal health and well-being.
- Professionals honor and respect the child's, youth's or parent's perception of the problem, or issue, as well as their proposed solutions.
- Parents, youth and children who feel misunderstood, maltreated and harmed have access to support groups and to advocate-mediators who give voice to their concerns and help effect improvements.
- When child-family outcomes do not improve, professionals first examine their own work practices as the cause before they attribute problems to children, youth and families.
- The quality of interactions and treatment is a top priority in workplaces that serve children, youth and families; progress toward improving interactions and treatment is continuously charted with regular follow-up procedures and supports needed to effect improvements.

Moreover, in our previous work, we identified norms for school-family community consortia (Hooper-Briar and Lawson, (1994); these appear as Table 3 (on the following page). Today, we call them "norms for organizational partnerships and consortia." They facilitate planning and shared decision-making, and help prevent divisive conflicts. Ideally, they should be evident in the ways people from diverse organizations and agencies interact, and they can serve as one lens through which evaluators can examine planning and decision-making.

We now offer a starter list of professional and interprofessional norms for collaborative work practices. Like Gutmann (1987), we emphasize norms associated with democracy. These norms fall into two categories: So-called prescriptive norms (professionals must or should do these things) and prohibitive norms (professionals should not, or must not, do these things).

Prescriptive Norms

- Treat others as you and your family need to be treated.
- Place children's and their families' needs, interests and aspirations above self-interests.
- Enhance each individuals' learning, health, development and well-being, while supporting their families.
- Respect and honor the unique roles and responsibilities of other helping professionals and their organizations.
- Recognize that individuals and families often need resources and supports, in addition to social, health and educational services.
- Build democratic relationships with individuals and families, recognizing that helping relationships either support or erode enfranchisement and, in turn, participatory democracy.
- Recognize children and families as expert partners in all facets of professional work, and design tailored improvement strategies with them.
- Build upon individual and family strengths, capacities, aspirations and dreams; prepare them for greater degrees of self-reliance and mutual support.
- Prepare individuals and families to serve and support others.
- Communicate with and about individuals and families using words they understand and which you also would use in their presence.
- If results do not improve, or if an individual or family does not show progress, critically examine personal-professional practices, especially the naming and framing of the need or challenge, before attributing sole responsibility to individuals and families.
- Do not give up when one approach does not work; work with children and families to devise alternatives.
- When results for individuals and families improve, give them the lion's share of the credit and plan celebrations.
- Incorporate relevant research-based knowledge and technologies into work practices and share both, as appropriate, with families.
- Recognize that unemployment and poverty are often root causes of people's needs and challenges and strive for social and distributive justice involving jobs; income supports; access to education, health and recreation; housing; community development; and environmental quality.
- Build upon the capacities of children and families to help themselves and each other.
- Develop social trust among all persons involved in collaborative practices.

Prohibitive Norms

- Do no harm.
- Do not discriminate against diverse individuals and families.
- Do not repress individual's and families' ideas, knowledge, aspirations and dreams.

- Do not erode the capacities of families to inform, nurture, protect and empower vulnerable members (e.g., children, elders).
- Avoid language and practices that negatively label, stigmatize and stereotype individuals and families.
- Do not claim that professional assistance is either value- or culture-free.
- Do not monopolize power and authority.
- Avoid finger-pointing and blaming when results do not improve.

This is merely a starter list, and it suggests future research and development regarding new work practices for professionals and organizations in support of these new practices. We envision relationships between indices of integration and the quality of treatment and interaction everyone experiences. We have heard from school community leaders that unless some of these fundamental practices and principles are in place, all the efforts to bring services and education together will fall short of their promise and potential.

Policy Change and Family-Supportive Community Schools

The challenges associated with policy change should not be glossed over (e.g., Adelman and Taylor, 1996; Brandon, 1996; Bruner, 1996; Cibulka, 1996; Gardner, 1996). For us, the key is to examine what it takes to nurture and insure the learning, development, health and overall well-being of children, youth and families, and then ask what changes need to be effected in professions, schools, community agencies and societal institutions to make them more responsive and supportive. Over time, many of our schools and community agencies have been structured in a reverse, perhaps perverse, fashion: children, youth and families have been asked to fit into predetermined, self-interested molds. No one person is to blame. Policy changes can help fix this enduring problem.

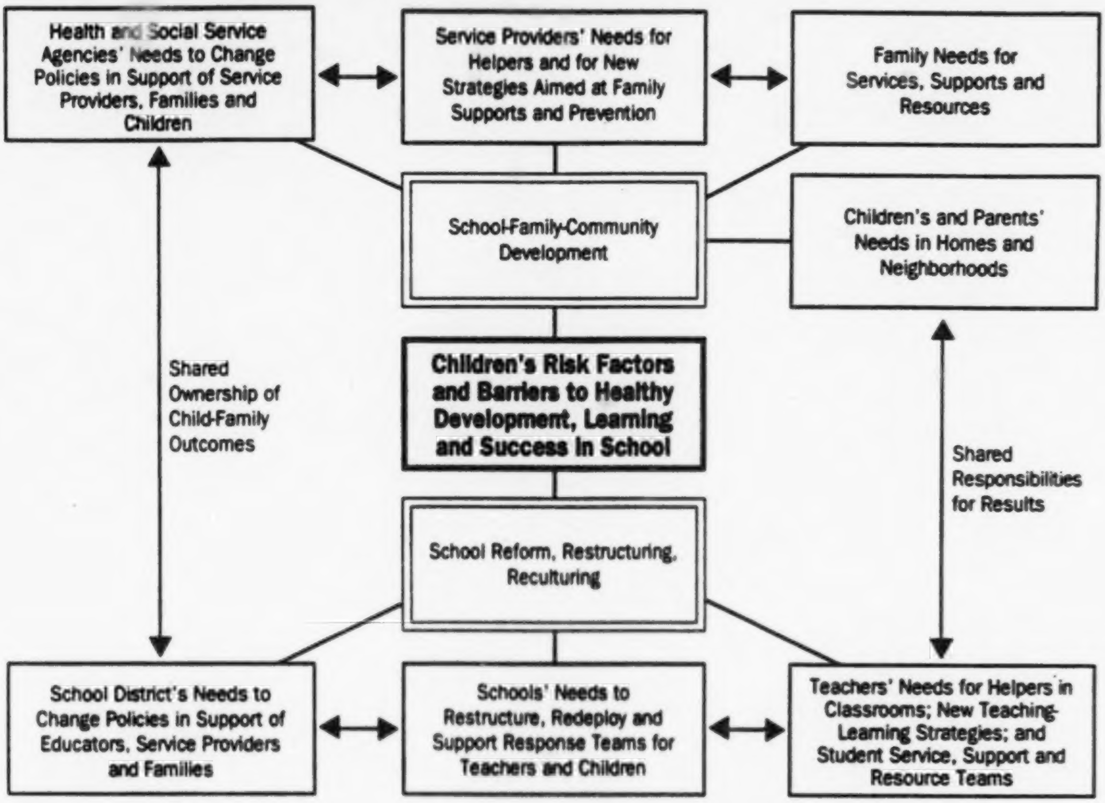
In the Family-Supportive Community Schools model, optimal practices in the classroom and improved results for children drive structure and district policy, replacing top-down policy approaches in which structures and practices are mandated. Our model challenges traditional thinking and practice, especially the dominant conceptions of leadership, power and authority in school communities. (There is support in the literature for our line of thinking and planning; see Kirst, 1995; Elmore, 1995; Tyack and Cuban, 1995; Corcoran and Goertz, 1995.)

Figure 6 (on the following page) is an introductory mapping of our approach. Classrooms, schools and districts are aligned, consistent and cohesive. They are joined together to improve children's academic achievement and overall success in school. We are mindful of the ways in which past reform efforts have neglected new roles and responsibilities for school districts (e.g., Berne, Wagner, et. al., 1995; Corcoran and Goertz, 1995). While we will not outline here all of the roles and responsibilities of superintendents, district officials and school boards, we call attention to the need for more responsive and cohesive policies and practices.

TABLE 3: Norms for Consortia

- We pledge to be kind to each other and to the children and families we serve. We know that collaboration is impossible without an ethic of kindness, caring and concern.
- Finger-pointing and blaming are not allowed.
- Everyone is both part of the problem and the solution. All participants must be seen as doing the best that they can do, including children, parents and professionals.
- Specialized language, abbreviations and acronyms are not allowed in the dialogue.
- It is everyone's responsibility to re-frame and re-think the ways in which today's problems and needs present opportunities. How can we turn a potential crisis into a preventive action strategy(?) is everyone's question and responsibility.
- Because there is more than enough work for everyone, we pledge not to make "turf" an issue. We pledge to seek shared ways to divide up the work and even modify our conventional jobs and roles.
- We pledge to recruit more stakeholders, including children and families, into the change process, knowing that there will never be enough professionals.
- Power will be shared, not monopolized. It will be used in win-win, rather than win-lose ways.
- When a crisis occurs, we will not blame either victims or professionals; we pledge to look first for flaws in our organizations, policies and services.
- We deputize the following person(s) to speak for the group; we pledge to avoid jealously for the publicity and attention generated.
- We pledge to build from collaborative agreements among individuals inter-agency and -organizational agreements.
- We promise to enfranchise and empower children, youth and families as partners in our work with them, their neighborhoods and communities.
- Mindful of what families tell us, we pledge to proceed from service strategies to ones involving supports, resources, and community development.
- We promise to keep the needs, problems, interests and aspirations of children, youth and families at the center of our work, remembering that they are the reason for our individual and collective efforts.

FIGURE 6: Mapping Educational Reform and Family Support


Health and Social Service Agencies' Needs to Change Policies in Support of Service Providers, Families and Children
Service Providers' Needs for Helpers and for New Strategies Aimed at Family Supports and Prevention
Family Needs for Services, Supports and Resources
School-Family-Community Development
Children's and Parents' Needs in Homes and Neighborhoods
Shared Ownership of Child-Family Outcomes
Children's Risk Factors and Barriers to Healthy Development, Learning and Success in School
Shared Responsibilities for Results
School Reform, Restructuring, Reculturing
School District's Needs to Change Policies in Support of Educators, Service Providers and Families
Schools' Needs to Restructure, Redeploy and Support Response Teams for Teachers and Children
Teachers' Needs for Helpers in Classrooms; New Teaching-Learning Strategies; and Student Service, Support and Resource Teams

The top half of Figure 6 identifies and connects the parts traditionally addressed by health and social service agencies. It suggests a more unified approach to family and community development.

The top and bottom halves of Figure 6 are integrated by means of policy changes. For example, performance-based accountability structures replace rule-based structures; this will require more flexibility in job descriptions, teaming and new forms of supervision. An example of a policy change to support prevention would be one allowing service providers to help families before there is a crisis or tragedy. State governments, especially state departments of education and human services, need to become more responsive to best practices at the classroom level. They also share accountability for results.

On the right side of Figure 6, we identify the shared responsibilities of children, youth and families for learning, development and well-being. They become active agents in making decisions and constructing their lives, not blank slates or passive recipients of interventions planned by professionals. Figure 6 suggests new partnerships. It identifies the need for everyone to share responsibility and accountability for results.

Some school systems are making ambitious efforts to integrate planning. Philadelphia and Los Angeles, for instance, are dovetailing district-wide integrated change planning with pre-K to grade 12 subject matter and competency articulations. Some states are including post-secondary education. This planning is intended to facilitate three transitions:

1) Transitions across grade levels, schools and post-secondary education
2) Support for children's performance in schools when their families move
3) Transitions from schooling to work.

This kind of integrated planning is described as "going to scale."

Discussion

Following Senge (1990), we have looked for a systems design. Examples of our design criteria include:

- Maximize the probability that improved outcomes and outcomes-oriented accountability structures will develop
- Maximize benefits from, and do not compete with, reform and change initiatives underway
- Keep the best of people's unique roles and responsibilities; maximize personal and group benefits and rewards; and minimize demands for role and knowledge changes
- Prioritize the well-being of professionals and design work practices and environments that enhance it
- Strengthen individual, group, and organizational performance and learning
- Maximize replicability and sustainability.

Any such systems design depends upon the "mental models" of its developers and users. We present in Appendix D a framework that stems from our site observations, interviews and literature review. It highlights the discrepancies between what children, parents, families and professionals need, on the one hand—and what they actually experience and do, on the other. We are not suggesting that all school communities face every one of these challenges. We are suggesting that, once we all understand what can go wrong and the attendant consequences, we gain a new readiness for comprehensive, integrative strategies like those for the Family Supportive Community School.

The Family-Supportive Community School model deepens the search for more appropriate and effective schooling. It focuses initially on children, youth, families and their local neighborhood-communities and then assesses the extent to which schools are supportive of child-family learning, healthy development and overall well-being. School leaders are all stakeholders in the school community, not just educators.

We believe that partnerships with parents and family members will be the most critical challenge for educators and service providers. After all, the nation's schools have been subject- and child-centered, not parent- and family-supportive. Moreover, teachers and other professionals have long been prepared to see children, youth and families as clients, not partners and experts. Relationship- and partnership-building will take time, and school communities need to know where and how to get help.

There are other aspects to the challenges of parent partnerships. As we mentioned earlier, all parents have not been viewed equally or treated equitably by professionals. And parents are not a homogeneous mass: identifiable groups of parents have their own beliefs, preferred strategies and relationships to power (e.g., Brantlinger, Majd-Jabbari, and Guskin, 1996; Smerker, 1996; Wells, Serna, et. al., 1995). Predictably, many of these differences involve racial, ethnic, class and cultural backgrounds and/or biases. Racism, sexism and classism are American problems, not just school-family-community problems. Power politics played by parents can be an issue when new family-school-community partnerships are being launched.

Dialogue will be enhanced to the extent that leaders make clear that educational reform is about "leveling up" toward excellence. Excellence is not the same as elitism. Excellence is a democratic ideal. It is for everyone, and it helps make democracy work.

Footnotes

10. Elsewhere, we have introduced the concept of social-cultural capital (Lawson, Briar-Lawson, and Lawson, 1997). For recent research on the importance of social cohesion, and the influences of inequality on it, see Wilkinson (1996).

11. See Anyon (1995), Bruner (1996), Haveman and Wolfe (1995) and Wilson for different, but complementary views of low-income neighborhoods and impoverished communities.

12. In fact, five community colleges in California have structured programs for parent paraprofessionals who want to work in integrated services. We also have learned about teacher preparation programs that recruit parent paraprofessionals who began as classroom aides.

13. For information and data concerning parent and community resident paraprofessionals see, for example, Alameda (1996), Halpern (1995), and Larner, Halpern, and Harkavy (1992).

14. Recent research on the development of children's brains and cognitive capacities confirms the importance of family support during the prenatal period and during the first three years of life. Apparently, harms are caused when children are not appropropriately stimulated and nurtured. Malnutrition remains a problem.

15. Issues of culturally-responsive programs and social trust remain as challenges. See, for example, recent work on Latino parents (Delgado-Gaitain, 1992; Fuller, Eggers-Pierola, Holloway, Liang, and Rambaud, 1996; Harry, 1992).

16. The descriptor, simultaneous renewal, was coined by John Goodlad, Roger Soder and other colleagues with the National Network for Educational Renewal. We have expanded their thinking about school reform partnerships to include interprofessional ones involving entire school communities and all of the university helping professions (Hooper-Briar and Lawson, 1996).

17. Issues of confidentiality must be addressed here. In addition, there are issues surrounding surveillance and the loss of privacy (Capper, 1996).

Conclusion

Our site visits, interviews and literature reviews have helped us name, frame and analyze change initiatives in different ways. For example, we now know that it makes a difference whether talk centers on school reform or educational reform; whether the planning unit is one classroom, a school, the school community or all the school communities in a feeder pattern; whether only educators or all key stakeholders are defined as school leaders; whether parents are selectively involved to serve the school or whether all parents are involved in a reciprocal relationship with the school; whether well-intentioned principals and teachers try to solve every problem or whether there is an effective school-family-community consortium. Building on examples we found at schools we visited, we have identified two models for models for educational reform: The Enabling Model and The Family-Supportive Community School Model.

Initially, we could not understand why some teachers, other educators and service providers no longer seemed to care about children, youth and their parents. We now understand that, while we can hold them accountable for needed changes, we cannot blame them. Teachers cannot give to others unless they are themselves nurtured. Personal responsibility and accountability are important. But if we are to avoid blaming the victims, and not encourage good people to leave teaching, then we face a systems design problem. Systems design is what a growing number of people have in mind when they talk about the reinvention of schooling in the United States. We agree.

The search for a more effective system of educational reform is also a search for better ways to support, encourage, and reward the nation's educators, especially its teachers, principals and parents. A more effective system will improve the classroom conditions under which teachers work and children learn; it involves school-wide, district-wide, state and national policy changes. Family support must be a centerpiece for this work. Strong families make democracy and civil society work. Children thrive.

We have emphasized the pivotal roles played by parents, parent advocates and children in integrating now-separate changes. New partnerships among families and professionals are required. We believe that forging and sustaining these partnerships is the most difficult leap of all, because power sharing with former clients challenges the traditions of professionals and their work organizations. On the other hand, if shared responsibility for results is a key to integration and successful change—as we have concluded—then children, youth and families will need to become full partners in our efforts.

We know that our model and findings present daunting challenges. To borrow a telling title from the Annie E. Casey Foundation (1995), ours is "the path of most resistance" because deep changes are required of people and organizations. Unless everyone is included in the change process and convinced that benefits will result, people will resist and sabotage the work. For example, collaborative leadership and ownership must be built into the change process, beginning with authentic conceptions of parent and teacher leadership. Faculty and students in colleges and universities must become more committed and involved. Until they make appropriate changes in preservice education and professional development programs, simultaneously encouraging faculty and student involvement in innovative school communities, higher education institutions will remain part of the fragmentation problem.

Do we care about our children, and do we have the political will to help them and their families? One way of defining democracy is to call it a political system in which people actively attend to what is significant (Bellah, Madsen, et.al., 1991, p. 273). When we fail our children and their families, there are profound moral, social and fiscal costs. Mindful of the costs of failure (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Sherman, 1994), and the needs and aspirations of our most vulnerable citizens, the time has arrived for a school-family-community investment strategy that benefits us all.

Appendices

Appendix A: Family Support and Family-Centered Practice

Here are examples of family support premises and principles of family-centered practice (Family Resource Coalition, 1996, pp. 5-6, 97):

PREMISES OF FAMILY SUPPORT

- Primary responsibility for the development and well-being of children lies within the family, and all segments of society must support families as they rear their children.
- Assuring the well-being of families is the cornerstone of a healthy society and requires universal access to support programs and services.
- Children and families exist as part of an ecological system.
- Enabling families to build on their own strengths and capacities promotes the healthy development of children.
- Childrearing patterns are influenced by parents' understandings of child development and of their children's unique characteristics, personal sense of competence, and cultural and community traditions and mores.
- The developmental processes that make up parenthood and family life create needs that are unique at each stage in the life span.
- Families are empowered when they have access to information and other resources and take action to improve the well-being of children, families and communities.

FAMILY-CENTERED PRACTICE PRINCIPLES

- Staff and family work together in relationships based upon equality and respect.
- Staff enhance families' capacity to support the growth and development of all family members—adults, youth and children.
- Families are resources to their own members, to programs and to communities.
- Programs affirm and strengthen families' cultural, racial, and linguistic identities and enhance their abilities to function in a multicultural society.
- Programs are embedded in their communities and contribute to the community-building process.
- Programs advocate with families for services and systems that are fair, responsible and accountable to the families served.
- Practitioners work with families to mobilize formal and informal resources to support family development.
- Programs are flexible and continually responsive to emerging family and community issues.
- Principles of family support are modeled in all program activities, including planning, governance and administration.

Appendix B: Lessons Learned and Questions

KEY LESSONS LEARNED

(1) The potential contributions and past achievements of existing student support professionals (e.g., school counselors, social workers, psychologists and nurses) have been neglected and ignored, resulting in opposition and hostility to social and health service providers (See Adelman, 1996); (2) When school districts try to replicate and "go to scale" based upon their experiences at one pilot-demonstration school, they find that there are not enough helping professionals or resources in their communities for the other schools; (3) Service providers' intervention strategies often are not responsive to child and family needs for economic resources and social supports; (4) Teachers frequently do not understand integrated services because they are not involved with them and service providers have not been invited into classrooms; (5) The majority of educators view services as "fixing" problem students—apart from school reform and regular classroom routines; (6) The strengths and capacities of vulnerable children, youth and families to help themselves and each other frequently are ignored; (7) Existing policies and recommended practices for service providers are rule-driven, crisis-oriented and overly-specialized; (8) Educators and service providers have not been provided opportunities and supports to explore the development of shared goals-results, shared accountability structures, and early intervention and preventive strategies; (9) Families and professionals alike are concerned about confidentiality, loss of privacy and excessive surveillance by others; (10) At the same time that service providers are worried about becoming overly "edu-centric," educators are worried that already-scarce dollars will be deflected from academic tasks and reallocated to support school-linked services (after Briar-Lawson, Lawson, Collier and Joseph, in press; Lawson and Briar-Lawson, in press); (11) There will never be enough social and health service providers to address all of the learning and developmental barriers children bring to school; (12) Teachers say that they do not believe that there are enough service providers available to address all of the children's needs. So, teachers refer only the most challenged children, especially those teachers want pulled out, or pushed out; (13) What we call "services" is not necessarily what school and community people operating within these two models mean when they use the term; there are vast differences not only in what planners define as needed services, but also in their strategies, who they involve, and in the visions and missions offered as guides for the work.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND CATEGORIZATION

- Is this a one-generation (child-focused) strategy or a two-generation strategy?
- Is it preventive? Crisis-oriented? Both?
- Does it change "real school"?
- Will it improve life in classrooms? Are teachers at the table? Principals? Parents? Employers?
- How do people's jobs, goals, and accountabilities change?
- Will all stakeholders see benefits? Will they own and lead the change process? Who will help?
- Does it compete with existing schools of thought regarding school reform? Are they accommodated? Supported and advanced?
- What are the necessary conditions?
- What are the systems design characteristics and "mental models?"
- What principles, norms, values, and knowledge are involved?
- How can we unify design, implementation and evaluation to maximize individual, group and organizational learning?
- What benchmarks are appropriate? What are indices of integration and improvement?

Appendix C. Examples of Knowledge Needs and Orientations of Teachers, Principals, Service Providers and Parents in Three Kinds of Schools

TABLE 4: A Continuum of Teachers' Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Primary Goal	Increase students' academic achievement and school's academic performance.	Increase children's learning and improve their development; remove learning barriers and health-developmental risk factors	Increase children's and parents' learning health, development, and overall well-being; improve family supports and condition of local neighborhood communities
Relationship With Parents and Family	Selectively invite parent involvement to secure additional resources and improve academic achievement.	Explore teacher-parent, home-school partnerships to improve children's learning and healthy development.	Cement teacher-parent, home school-partnerships that help parents and strengthen families at the same time that teachers are helped and schools are supported.
Key Language Concepts	Students, school reform, technique, method, learning technologies; academic standards and achievement.	Children and youth, norms of caring, empathy and concern; school reform, high expectations, build-from-strength; empowerment with responsibility; child advocates; at risk and at promise; healthy development and learning; learning communities; teacher leadership; interprofessional collaboration.	In addition, children, youth and their families; communities of caring and concern; educational reform and educational communities; family support networks and strategies; community and neighborhood-development; vulnerability; at-risk and toxic environments; learning, development, health and well-being; parent-teacher, home school partnerships; community collaboration.
Primary Work Requirements	Develop students' subject matter mastery as indicated by scores on standardized.	Increase children's learning and healthy development; identify learning barriers, health developmental risk factors, refer children to school-based support and response teams, collaborate with lead case manager	Increase children's learning and healthy development by forming classroom-based partnerships with parents, paraprofessional teachers and service providers; serve as lead instructional designer and assessment coordinator; identify learning barriers and health developmental risk factors and refer children to school-based support and response teams; with parents, meet with teams and plan improvement strategies; with principal or lead teachers, seek additional supports and resources from school community consortia.
Primary Knowledge Needs	1. Pedagogical content knowledge; 2. Knowledge about schools' roles and responsibilities.	In addition to 1 and 2: 3. Developmental contextualist knowledge about children and youth, emphasizing special characteristics and needs associated with each grade or developmental level; 4. Knowledge about multiple intelligences; 5. Knowledge about cultural differences and responsiveness; 6. Knowledge about learning barriers and health developmental risk factors; 7. Knowledge about, and skills for collaborative work practices; 8. Knowledge about school-to-work and school and-work strategies.	In addition to 1-8: 9: Ecological understanding of child-family-community relationships, especially abilities to define presenting problems and needs of children as family- and community development challenges; 10. Parent-child aspiration-based learning contracting, and 11. Service learning strategies in the school community.
Working Conditions	Teachers work alone in classrooms over which they claim ownership and jurisdiction.	Teachers work alone and with teams of teachers, sometimes in special "houses" or subunits of schools and sometimes remaining with the same cohort of children and youth for more than one year.	Teachers work in teams comprised of other teachers, parents, community resident leaders, university students, and perhaps service providers.
Leadership Structures and Styles	Bureaucratic, hierarchical, rule-driven and compliance-oriented; teachers are implementors.	Professional-collegial, rule-driven and commitment-oriented; teachers are joint leaders.	Collaborative and horizontal; performance driven, and commitment-oriented; teachers and parents are joint leaders with principals
Special Facilities	Usually none; exceptions include technology support centers, teacher development facilities and university-school partnership centers.	In addition, school-based youth centers and other facilities needed for extended day, week and year programs; also spaces and places for social health service providers.	In addition, school-based parent-family resource centers; perhaps expanded facilities for adult oriented educational, recreational, and social health service programs.
District Initiatives That Impact Upon Teachers and Teaching Practices	Seamless curriculum-evaluation systems that ease transitions across grade levels and schools; teacher evaluation, promotion and reward systems.	In addition, within and across school mentoring and "bridging programs" that are personalized, helping children and youth to experience a sense of belonging, especially during transitions.	In addition, district-wide curricular initiatives (e.g., FamilyMath, family-based literacy); child family advocates who promote school-family community partnerships, respond to teachers requests by completing home visits, improving family supports.

TABLE 5: A Continuum of Principals' Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Primary Goal(s)	Maintain and enhance motivation of teachers, pupil support-student services-professionals and other school employees in order to improve students' academic achievement and school's academic performance; ensure staff compliance with rules, regulations, mandates and role expectations.	Instructional leadership; improve children's learning and their overall functioning by establishing systems to remove learning barriers and health-developmental risk factors; facilitate collaborative planning aimed at shared visions and missions for the school and its children; nurture development of behavioral and organizational norms associated with caring; encourage development of shared values and standards, which unite staff and invite voluntary, collective compliance;	Instructional leadership and family support: increase children's and parents' learning health, development, and overall well-being; improve school-family-agency trust relationships and networking; through consortia, collaborate with community leaders to improve the condition of local neighborhood communities.
Relationship With Parents and Family	Selectively invite parent involvement to secure additional resources and improve academic achievement; meet with parents, children and teachers to resolve conflicts.	Explore teacher-parent, home-school partnerships to improve children's learning and healthy development.	Cement teacher-parent, home school-partnerships that help parents and strengthen families at the same time that teachers are helped and schools are supported.

TABLE 5: A Continuum of Principals' Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools (con't from previous page)

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Key Language Concepts	Students, school reform, technique, method, learning technologies; academic standards and achievement; compliance; order; rules, policies, established procedures, regulations and mandates chain of command, going through channels.	Children and youth, norms of caring, empathy and concern; school reform, high expectations, build-from-strength; empowerment with responsibility; child advocates; at risk and at promise; healthy development and learning; interprofessional collaboration.	In addition, children, youth and their families; communities of caring and concern; educational reform and educational communities; family support networks and strategies; community and neighborhood-development; vulnerability; at-risk and toxic environments; learning, development, health and well-being; community collaboration.
Primary Work Requirements	Address behavioral-instructional problems of students; watchful supervision of curriculum and instruction (expect and inspect, reward); coordinate work of instructional and support staff; manage the budget and the school plant.	Increase children's learning and healthy development; work with pupil support-student services professionals and social-health service providers to establish support and response systems for children's learning barriers, health developmental risk factors; work with superintendent and social service agency managers and CEOs to seek needed resources and technical assistance for school-based, response and support teams for children and youth; delegate, as appropriate, responsibilities for addressing children's behavioral problems in school; collaborate with lead case managers as needed.	In addition, prioritize the learning, health and occupational development of parents; find resources (e.g., title 1 funds, block grants; welfare reform initiatives) in support of paraprofessional teaching and social service roles for parents; with service providers, private sector leaders and local college-university representatives, develop occupational recruitment, preparation and ladder systems for children, youth and their parents (e.g., school-and-work, school-to-work, apprenticeships, service learning); use consortium to secure help in meeting school family-community needs, gaining additional resources and supports, and setting as well as solving problems.
Primary Knowledge Needs	Management technologies and supervisory techniques; Knowledge about compliance oriented, incentive and reward systems; Knowledge about schools' roles and responsibilities; knowledge for effective bureaucratic leadership and fiscal management.	Developmental-contextualist knowledge about children and youth, emphasizing special characteristics and needs associated with each grade or developmental level; knowledge about collaborative planning and decision-making, especially ways to take stock, develop shared visions and missions, and implement as well as evaluate needed changes; knowledge about the relationship between collaborative work cultures and work performance; knowledge about multiple intelligences; knowledge about cultural differences and responsiveness; knowledge about learning barriers and health-developmental risk factors; knowledge about, and skills for collaborative work practices; knowledge about school-to-work, service learning and school-and work strategies; knowledge about basic language and interventions used by social-health service providers and how these relate to school's missions and children's learning, development; knowledge about benefits and requirements for community school programs for children and youth.	In addition, procedural knowledge for how to work with racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse families; knowledge about ecological understanding of child-family-community relationships; knowledge about alternative ways to name and frame children's and parents' presenting problems and needs as family-related resource and social support needs as well as community development challenges; conversational knowledge about community and neighborhood development strategies as they impact upon, and benefit, the school; conflict resolution, political negotiation, and education constituency-building skills associated with collaborative, comprehensive, and democratic decision-making structures; knowledge about the school's unique responsibilities for nurturing democratic citizenship and contributing to sustainable social development.
Working Conditions	Absent assistant principals, principals experience lonely work because all staff are subordinates, or perhaps union adversaries, working at a different level of the hierarchy; with assistant principals, some interpersonal supports are provided.	Needs become apparent for a school-family community coordinator; perhaps collegial relationships with middle managers from social and health service agencies; increasingly collegial relationships with all school staff, especially professionals.	In addition, collegial relationships with parents as well as with community resident leaders, local governmental officials, private sector representatives .
Leadership Structures and Styles	Bureaucratic, hierarchical, rule-driven and compliance-oriented: teachers are implementors.	Professional-collegial, rule-driven and commitment-oriented; teachers, especially, are joint leaders.	Collaborative and horizontal, performance driven, and commitment-oriented: Everyone in the school community accepts moral leadership responsibilities for the learning, development, health and well-being of children, youth, families and the professionals who serve them.
Special Facilities	Usually none; exceptions include technology support centers, teacher development facilities, and university-school partnership centers.	In addition, school-based youth centers and other facilities needed for extended day, week and year programs; also spaces and places for social health service providers; office space for the new coordinator.	In addition, school-based parent-family resource centers; perhaps expanded facilities for adult oriented educational, recreational, and social health service programs.
District Initiatives That Impact Upon Principals' Work Practices	Seamless curriculum-evaluation systems that ease transitions across grade levels and schools teacher evaluation, promotion and reward systems (e.g., mentoring and career ladder systems); special subject initiatives; new information management systems.	In addition, within and across school mentoring and "bridging programs" that are personalized, helping children and youth to experience a sense of belonging, especially during transitions.	In addition, child-family advocates who promote school-family-community partnerships, respond to teachers requests by completing home visits, improving family supports; family-centered instructional initiatives (e.g., FamilyMath, family-based literacy programs).

TABLE 6: A Continuum of Community Health and Social Service Providers' Roles and Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Primary Goal(s)	Assist, as requested, existing pupil support student services professionals with children's challenges; short-term goal to improve students' attitudes, behavior and health is a prerequisite to the ultimate goal of improving students' academic achievement.	Once re-located at the school, or linked to educators, help address barriers to children's learning, healthy development and overall functioning; ensure that all children receive the services for which they are eligible.	Provide tailored services, social supports and economic resources for families to improve child and family learning, health and overall well being; recruit parents and adult community leaders to work as paraprofessionals and to serve as child and family advocates; with teachers and existing student services-pupil support professionals, design, implement and evaluate teacher- and family-responsive support and response systems; collaborate with

TABLE 6: A Continuum of Community Health and Social Service Providers' Roles and Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools (con't from previous page)

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
			other service providers, governmental officials and business leaders to improve family supports and address needs in local neighborhood communities.
Relationship With School(s)	Respond to selective and occasional invitations to meet with existing pupil support-student services professionals about a student, perhaps an entire family; occasionally serve as a resource person; occasionally meet with a child at school to initiate diagnostic assessments and deliver services; in special cases, meet with a child's teacher(s).	Re-locate at the school, or develop firm communications links with pupil support student services professionals; Attend case staffing that involve learning barriers, health needs and behavioral challenges; perhaps serve on site-based decision-making, planning and management teams; work with pupil support and student services professionals to develop and monitor individualized educational plans (IEPs) for challenged students.	Re-locate at one school, or develop linkages; help organize, train and evaluate parent paraprofessionals as well as teams of educators, parents and pupil support-student support professionals; help develop two-generation, family-centered practices among all of the school's employees; help organize and support school-based, parent- and family-resource centers; serve on committees and task forces to address family and community problems; help start and sustain a school-family-community consortium; perhaps serve and help mobilize a cluster or feeder pattern "family" of schools to serve and support children, youth and families.
Key Language Concepts	Students, pupils, IEPs, school reform, site based teams, academic achievement, grades, proficiency test scores, learning disability, student disability, reading disability, special education.	"At risk" and "troubled" children and youth, collaboration, inclusion, interagency agreements, coordinated services, full-service schools, child centered services, child learning, healthy development and overall well-being; toxic and unhealthy environments for children and youth; interprofessional collaboration; service integration.	Resilience, strengths, and "at promise," family support, parent empowerment, service integration, parent partnerships, family and community capacity building, community and neighborhood development; root causes, poverty, racism, toxic and unhealthy environments for children and families; educational reform, culturally-responsive, family-centered integrated services, social supports and economic resources; community collaboration.
Primary Role Requirements	Remain "on call," willing and able to respond to requests received from professionals at the school; otherwise, continue working with children, youth and families under the auspices and with the directives of the sponsoring agency.	Help identify and address barriers to children's learning and healthy development; help teachers pupil support-student services professionals see family stresses as a chief cause of the child's needs and challenges; provide direct services to enhance child's functioning, healthy development and learning; collaborate with other child-serving professionals as required, sometimes as members of formal teams, especially parent involvement and home outreach teams.	Provide services for children, youth, parents and families; build the capacities of parents, paraprofessionals and pupil support-student services professionals so they can accept low risk and moderate risk "cases"; help plan school community-family improvement projects that address unmet needs of children, families, teachers, schools and the community; promote resource sharing, joint visioning and common missions among schools, community organizations, and the private sector; promote shared planning between neighborhood organizations, schools, and community agencies; promote family-centered and -friendly practices and value congruence across all members of the consortium; promote participatory, empowerment-oriented formative and summative evaluations.
Primary Knowledge Needs	Knowledge base provided in conventional professional education and acquired through direct personal experiences is the knowledge for practice (e.g., child development, determinants of child learning, development and well-being; assessment, intervention and evaluation methodologies; case planning and staffing, etc.).	In addition, ecological-developmental approaches to child development, group process and case planning skills for interprofessional collaboration; components of culturally competent practices; action research methodologies; health prevention, promotion and education models; legal issues and procedures for ensuring confidentiality; information management technologies; special school-related needs of children living in foster homes.	In addition, ecological-developmental approaches to families and family systems; norms for interprofessional, collaborative practices; components of culturally-responsive practices; re-naming and re-framing presenting child and parent challenges as family support and community development problems; new ways to develop social trust and share power, authority, and decision-making with parents, children and youth; new ways to use community school classes and programs to launch preventive strategies; how to solve family, community and school problems with teams of parents and other community stakeholders; understanding of the roles of meaningful employment and economic development in improving results for children, youth, families and local neighborhood communities; policy change agendas;
Challenges From Working Conditions and Job Requirements	Not automatically a keen interest in schools because of historic lines of responsibility and because children's learning problems in school are not assigned the same importance as child abuse and child deaths, poverty, unemployment, and homelessness. Excessive case loads, coupled with declining resources and social supports, cause health problems, declining efficacy, apathy, burn-out and high occupational turn-over rates.	Growing interest with new claims associated with full-service schools, collaboration and interagency agreements; efforts to help and rescue children may intensify, accompanied by attributions of blame to parents; office spaces at the school may be inadequate and unhealthy; relationships with pupil support-student services professional may be(come) strained; teachers may make service providers feel like outsiders; supervisory-accountability structures remain top down and rule-driven.	Commitments increase as it becomes clear that collaborative practices and organizational partnerships will support professionals at the same time they help children, youth, and families; service providers, parents and educators alike face challenges of learning how to ask others for resources and supports that improve working conditions and job requirements; front line service providers' job requirements are made more flexible in negotiations with middle managers charged with their supervision. middle managers, in turn, negotiate changes in supervisory styles and structures and accountability structures; rule-based approaches are replaced by performance-based approaches; shared, interdependent goals develop and tailored, participatory-empowerment oriented, evaluation methodologies follow.
Leadership Structures and Styles	Bureaucratic, hierarchical, rule-driven and compliance-oriented.	Interagency agreements may be written to support the relocation of service providers at the school; supervision of service providers may remain with loaning agency, or be reassigned to the head of the school-based services col-	Leadership is shared among front-line teachers, principals, parents and service providers; data based decision-making supports bottom-up as well as top-down decision-making; supervisors emphasize commitment strategies

TABLE 6: A Continuum of Community Health and Social Service Providers' Roles and Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools (con't from previous page)

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
		laboration; reporting procedures tend to be standardized; little or no risk taking is permitted. Service providers perform more or less the same jobs at school as they did in the community; beginnings of collegial decision-making are evident.	(results oriented, blame-free, strength-based, learning oriented) instead of compliance strategies; democratic, horizontal decision-making structures and teams emerge; strength and blame free strategies. Parents are viewed as lead case planners; teachers are key members of case planning teams; norms for mutual accountability and obligation emerge.
Special Facilities	None. Service providers are housed in community agencies and use existing offices when they are invited to the school.	School-based service centers: facilities for community school programs and social service programs.	In addition, parent-family resource centers; spaces for parent run initiatives such as homework clubs, child care micro enterprises such as school stores. New facilities and equipment also may be needed in neighborhood agencies and homes that serve as family community hubs (parents may also offer services from their homes with networks of neighborhood supports, which are linked to services at schools). Community agencies may also expand or develop spaces for community school and social service programs.
District Initiatives That Impact Upon Teachers-Parents-Service Providers and Family Support Practices	Special knowledge and training associated with special education and IEPs.	Cross-system partnership agreements promoting service providers in new child and academic support roles; space provided by the district so that service providers can occupy a room at the school and teachers are given released time so that they can serve on child study teams.	Funding for collaborative service coordinator, or resource coordinator, position. Stipends for parents to serve as paraprofessionals and child family advocates. Liability supports and waivers and funding assistance for custodians are provided in support of community school and service programs offered in the non-school hours.

TABLE 7: A Continuum of Parents' Responsibilities in Three Kinds of Schools

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Primary Goal	Help with child's academic achievement.	Oversee child's learning and development; address child's learning and developmental barriers	Increase child's as well as parents' learning health, development, and overall well-being; improve resources that build family supports and address needs of local neighborhood communities.
Relationship With School	Attend parent-teacher conferences on child's performance, respond to calls about performance problems, attend PTA, assist if asked with selected educational initiatives, such as a child's or classroom academic project; perhaps serve on site based teams.	Assist with field trips, service learning, after school projects; attend site based teams or other groups addressing needs in the school such as safety, truancy. Assist both teacher and school when appropriate.	Guide school, consortia, service providers and others as to ways that needs of families can be addressed so that both parents and children can be supported in their academic, occupational, social, emotional and economic functioning. Serve, if appropriate on problem solving school community committees to address community problems such as evictions, hunger. Staff the parent resource center and also serve if warranted as a paraprofessional in the classroom or service systems. Use the classes and related opportunities at the school to advance health, self-help strategies and occupational supports.
Key Language Concepts	Students, school reform, site based teams, parent responsibility and involvement, proficiency scores.	Children and youth, parent involvement, parents as "primary teachers," child centered services, child well-being; home supports for children's learning and healthy development, interprofessional collaboration, clients.	Family support, parent empowerment; tailored and integrated services, social supports and economic resources; community collaboration; partnerships with parents and agencies, family and community capacity building, community and neighborhood-development; root causes, poverty, racism; aspirations, resilience.
Primary Role Requirements	Help with child's subject mastery, achievement. In Title I schools, parental compacts are required but rarely sought.	Improve child's learning and functioning, development; identify barriers, to learning, health-development and support child's referral to school-based services, support and response teams, collaborate with lead case managers. If appropriate, assist in classroom as an aide.	Seek help with parent stresses and child's learning, functioning and development by using services at the school. If appropriate, serve in paraprofessional role in the school, classroom, and among service providers. Run the parent resource center. Design school community programs. Attend consortia, special classes, recreation, health, social support activities. Plan school-community improvement projects that address unmet needs of children, families, teachers, school and community.
Primary Knowledge Needs	Awareness and knowledge of school assignments, ways to assist the child with homework, learning barriers. Subject knowledge and some prior mastery. Some knowledge about how to partner on site based teams.	In addition to subject knowledge and some mastery, knowledge in parenting, problem solving, coping with stress, economic challenges, isolation, job and related problems as they affect their child. Knowledge of how to use services and which services are available for their child. Knowledge of the stressors that teachers and schools are facing.	In addition to academic and child supportive services, knowledge of how to run a parent resource center, how to deliver mutual aid services, how to solve community and school problems with parent teams, task forces, neighbor to neighbor mobilization, resource development drives, policy change agendas. Knowledge of how to rethink and address a community need as a service learning opportunity for both parents and children.
Learning, Living and Working Conditions	Child's learning conditions at home and at school may or may not be conducive to their	Child's living and learning conditions may or may not be contributing to successful school	Parents work in teams to solve problems, to address school and family and community con-

TABLE 7: A Continuum of Parents' Responsibilities In Three Kinds of Schools (con't from previous page)

	SUBJECT-CENTERED SCHOOL	CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL	FAMILY SUPPORTIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOL
	academic achievement. There may be no place to do homework in the home.	performance, functioning or well-being. Parent may attempt to address through the site based team and service providers the conditions of the child and teacher in the classroom as well as the conditions for learning and functioning at the school. Challenges to well being at home may result in child protection investigations. Parental work conditions may also produce stresses that affect child's learning and functioning. Parent may seek help with these conditions through service providers or in the case of child protection be mandated to make change or lose child to foster care and even adoption.	ditions. Parents use the school as a way to advance both their children's learning and development as well as their own and move from site based teams to running parent resource centers, eviction support services, job clubs. Parents use the consortium along with teachers and service providers to examine strategies that improve working and living conditions. School-community collaboratives and consortia become a way to address and advance living and working conditions.
Leadership Structures and Styles	Bureaucratic, hierarchical, rule-driven and compliance-oriented: parents are expected to assist or to be blamed if achievement problems emerge. Parents may serve on site based teams that may not be able to treat them as full partners and experts in what hurts and helps children their academic achievement.	Beginning collaboration with parents in child centered case staffings in the provision academic and developmental support strategies, e.g. counseling or tutors. Partnership and collaboration may extend to classroom projects and to special homework assistance so that parents can help their children. Teachers and service providers define the parameters for parent involvement, service and support plans.	Collaborative parents drive improvements in children's achievement and child and family well-being. Teachers, principals, parents and service providers use the consortia to create bottom sideways and grassroots problem solving and change strategies. All are results-oriented and seek enfranchising ways to bring about strength-based and blame-free strategies.
Special Facilities	Special supports may be need at home and in the community so that children can do their homework and have safe and healthy classrooms and school-neighborhoods.	School-based youth centers and other facilities needed for extended day, week and year programs; also spaces and places for social-health service providers. Parents may need better living conditions so that children's performance and developmental barriers are addressed. It is unlikely that these will be within the resource base of either service providers or schools. Some children may be placed in foster homes but may even then continue to have academic and developmental challenges.	In addition, school-based parent-family resource centers; perhaps expanded facilities for adult oriented educational, recreational, and social health service programs. Facility support for families may also involve the creation of new housing, new service systems (such as head start, child care centers run by parents and provided by developers. Parents may generate income in community redevelopment efforts creating better housing and occupational supports resulting from revitalization movements. Consortia-led development integrates supports for teachers and service providers with children, youth and families.
District Initiatives That Impact Upon Teachers-Parents and Family Support Practices	Special knowledge and training in partnering with teachers and children on school assignments, site based teams.	Cross system partnership agreements promoting service providers and parents in new academic and developmental support roles; stipends for youth who serve as tutors for others. Instructional assistant positions for parents to serve as teacher aides. Classroom based instructional resources to improve academic and developmental functioning of children and youth.	Stipends for parents to serve as problem solving strategists and change agents in the school and community. Policies and funds that support after school and weekend classes and occupational supports for children, youth, parents as well as other community members.

Appendix D. Mapping the Systems Design Challenge

Beginning to Map the Systems Design Challenge: What We Need and Want Versus What We Have

IDEALS AND NECESSARY CONDITIONS	REALITIES AND OBSTACLES
All children enter school ready and able to learn.	A growing number of children enter school with barriers to their learning and healthy development, barriers that double as indicators of unmet needs for family support and neighborhood development.
All children are able to learn.	Children challenged by poverty, racism, and learning barriers are denied opportunities for learning because teachers, other school professionals, and other adults do not believe that these children can excel in schools; expectations for learning and standards for academic achievement are leveled down; basic skills remediation is a dominant pedagogical theme.
All children have aspirations, hopes and dreams that can facilitate their learning, healthy development, and success in school.	Stand-alone, assembly line schools with fragmented subjects are not readied for accelerated learning, learning communities, and parent-child-teacher compacts that are focused upon aspirations; or, "feel good schools" are structured that will not allow aspirations to be achieved.
Schools must be ready for the learning and healthy development of all children	Children with learning barriers and health needs often are pushed and pulled out of classrooms and schools because teachers lack supports and resources; and schools lack systemic capacities to

IDEALS AND NECESSARY CONDITIONS	REALITIES AND OBSTACLES
	respond to childrens' differences, especially barriers to their learning and healthy development.
Schools help children develop meaningful identities, commitments and affiliations that keep them in school and facilitate their learning and healthy development.	Children and families of color cannot "see themselves" in culturally-neutral or -blind, schools; for children, academic achievement and success in schools are equated with "acting and being white," contradicting cultural identities and peer group priorities; disengagement increases over time; truancy, suspensions, expulsions, and drop-outs follow.
Teachers must have sufficient time, social supports and resources to facilitate every child's learning and healthy development; and to enjoy personal well-being, professional development, and job satisfaction.	Teachers working alone in classrooms lack responsive support systems and sufficient resources; consequently, they are unable to personalize learning, engage in authentic assessment, keep up with their professional development, and enjoy high levels of well-being and job satisfaction.
Caring teachers must be stewards of their schools, have high expectations and performance standards for themselves and children, and utilize appropriate teaching-learning strategies; children's learning and efficacy improvements support teachers' learning and efficacy improvements.	Unprepared, under-supported, and unsuccessful teachers increasingly rely upon control-oriented classroom management-as-pedagogy; they increasingly disengage from children, families and schools. Burn-out and drop out rates increase, and recruitment of new talented persons into the schooling professions is constrained at the same time.
Teachers serve as leaders of classroom-based teams that personalize learning; help identify children's needs for supports and assistance; and collaborate with parents, pupil support professionals and social-health service providers in pursuing the best interests of each child.	Teachers' preparation and careers are anchored in solitary classrooms and control over "my students" before they are passed on to become "their students."
Parents are the first educators of their children and must be partners in their children's learning and healthy development.	Parent involvement strategies limit their participation to PTA-type activities and information-sharing about the child(ren); parents learn that calls from the teacher and principal mean problems at school or requests to serve the school.
Schools support parents and help strengthen families; strong families, in turn, are the cornerstones for healthy neighborhood communities and civic engagement.	Stand-alone schools concerned only with children's academic achievement in special subjects make minimal contributions to parents and families; parent blame and maltreatment syndromes erode family-school relationships.
Unemployed parents and parents who have not had good experiences with schools are welcomed at school; occupational ladders for parent paraprofessionals are offered to improve family-school relationships and address family support needs.	Parents confronting challenges are blamed, stigmatized, and stereotyped; school professionals are unprepared to understand and address their needs and may seek to avoid effective partnerships with them.
Because children's learning, healthy development and success in schools hinge upon how they spend their time, peer relationships, family environments, and community school programs that provide educational, recreational, and health-related offerings to children, parents, families and community members must be an essential component in school reform.	Schools lack the personnel and economic resources to remain open for extended day, week, and year programs; facilities are child- and subject-centered; space for adult education, recreation, and service providers competes with space for teachers, other educators and children.
Children's learning, healthy development and success in schools help prevent rotten outcomes such as substance abuse, teen pregnancy, violence and crime; success in school thus enables the work of social and health service providers and resident community development leaders.	Children's disengagement and problems in school ultimately track into other rotten outcomes; service providers, pupil support professionals, parents and resident leaders are compelled to emphasize crisis-responsive work more than early intervention and prevention.
Teacher-responsive support teams comprised of parents, other community paraprofessionals and pupil support professionals respond, on demand, at school to children's learning and development needs; helping children doubles as more time, social supports, resources for teachers.	Existing rules and roles for pupil support professionals constrain their responsiveness; schools lack family-friendly climates, parent empowerment preparation programs and family resource centers; and, there are insufficient numbers of social and health service providers (who are constrained by fragmented systems and crisis-oriented eligibility requirements).
Schools serve as primary prevention sites and "early warning systems." One child's needs and challenges open avenues for	Children's needs and challenges may go undetected by teachers unprepared to know what they are seeing; or, if they know what

IDEALS AND NECESSARY CONDITIONS	REALITIES AND OBSTACLES
early intervention and prevention of the family's needs and challenges; other children and parents receive assistance and family ecologies become healthier.	they are seeing, they lack support teams and systems designs to activate assistance for the child and, in turn, the child's family.
Principals are supported in their constant efforts to improve school-family-community partnerships, especially in new expectations for mediating relationships with community social and health service providers and recreation leaders.	Many principals, like the teachers they serve and support, are unprepared for these new challenges; principals have to "do it all and alone." Like teachers, principals often experience excessive job overload and "burn-out," and, as they do, they have diminished abilities to serve as instructional leaders, develop collaborative leadership cultures, and lead continuous quality improvement efforts.
Effective planning, collaborative leadership and warranted decision-making are facilitated continuously by appropriate data.	Capacities for effective problem-solving and collaborative leadership are under-developed in school communities. Limited planning often proceeds with insufficient or low quality data, eroding individual and collective capacities to name and frame problems, effectively solve them, and gain more useful data in the process.
School-family-community consortia help mobilize resources, gather and interpret data and meet individual, family and organizational needs.	Schools and other child- and family-oriented organizations try to do too much, often detracting from their unique, important roles and responsibilities and even competing for resources.
Helping professionals, parents, and resident community leaders share accountability for children's outcomes; all understand that each outcome is nested in the others and that success for one is a pathway to success for all.	Single system goals, rule-based accountability structures, and categorical policies prevent and limit shared accountability for outcomes, collaborative work practices, and organizational partnerships; mutual blame and maltreatment cycles stem from "that's not my problem or my job" premises.
All change initiatives intended to benefit children and families are seen as interdependent parts of a whole; demonstrable connections serve to integrate and unify them.	School reform, health care reform, welfare reform, juvenile justice reform, child welfare reform, and other change initiatives have their own life histories, goals, supporters and developers; instead of merging, they often compete for resources and political attention; different policy assumptions prevent cohesive values and improvement strategies.
Flexible job descriptions, performance-based and outcome-sensitive accountability and reward systems, and policy changes support collaborative work practices, organizational partnerships and other elements of new systems designs; middle managers and CEOs also develop collaborative working relationships so that "all are on the same page."	"Mental models" of children, families, local neighborhood communities, professional responsibilities and organizational domains reproduce existing work practices and social relations; middle managers such as principals and agency heads often are left "out of the loop" and cause friction and contradictions in the system.
Governmental, funding agency, and community leaders have high expectations and performance standards, but also recognize that systems in crisis take time to change. They accept valid progress indicators and more than one measure of outcome improvement.	Narrowly-defined accountability structures and measurements are forced from the top down; insufficient time, technical assistance and capacity-building resources are provided; and professionals' work practices are distorted (e.g., teachers teach only to the state proficiency tests; social workers provide mandated "units of service").
Asset- and strength-based helping strategies are the norm; individual, family and community capacity-building emphasizes norms of reciprocity, kindness, and civic engagement; social trust networks; mutual aid and assistance relationships; meaningful employment; and their sustainability.	Each profession and organization may force-fit their own conception of the need or problem (usually a service for a presumed deficit); by ignoring social support, economic resource, and employment-related needs and natural supports in the community, they unintentionally may contribute to learned helplessness, excessive dependence and deskilling in individuals; and reduce the problem-solving capacities of families and communities.
Children's positive, beneficial experiences in school help pave the way for the responsibilities of democratic citizenship and contribute to the essential elements in a civil society; talk and action are pervasive regarding the politics of "generativity," i.e., what each generation owes the next through children.	Fewer and fewer people emphasize the essential relationship among schools, families, voluntary associations, strong democracy, civil society and children's well-being; self-interest overrides generativity; volunteerism and civic engagement decline, and children are allowed to suffer.

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